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THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

A REVOLUTION AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

BY REV. DR. CHEEVER.

THE amendment to the Constitution proposed by Congress, and the singular affirmations of Senator Howard and others in support of it, striking at the primal rights of citizenship, force upon us a renewed statement and defence of what we had supposed would never need a discussion.

What is citizenship? It is each man's individual share and right in the political inheritance, for the strength and protection of which all men join in the support of government, and acknowledge and promise their allegiance. Citizenship is the original covenant of each and all with the government, established and maintained by choice and vote of the citizens. It is exactly equivalent with, and held and represented by the vote. It is the native, Heaven-appointed and constitutional quality and right of every person born in the country and claimed as in allegiance to the government. There can neither be the right of allegiance without the right of citizenship, nor the right of citizenship without the right to vote. Where is the pretence or declaration in our Constitution that either the right of citizenship or of the vote is a right emanating from the government? On the contrary it is assumed, pre-supposed, as the common law and substratum of political authority and action, that citizenship and the vote are trusts conferred upon and committed to the government by the people, to be preserved and guarded for the people; so that the government are only commissioners in trust for the people, for the keeping and usufruct of these great fundamental possessions, for their benefit and security, while they go about their common and social business and enjoyments, without having to maintain a private watch against burglars and thieves. They have registered these bonds with the government, that they might pursue their own work of progress, of improvement in life and glory. Are they now to be told that both bonds and coupons are a gift from the government, to be bestowed or withheld at pleasure, or at the will of an imperium in imperio called State sovereignty? In that case, State sovereignty is neither more nor less than a cunningly-devised machinery, by which the people can be robbed of their rights under pretence of republicanism, while their own government file a bill of bankruptcy, and put it out of their power to interfere for the protection or restoration of their property. It is the subtlest and most audacious form of robbery when the government affirms such fraud upon its citizens to be a reserved right of the States.

THE PRIMAL ALLEGIANCE OF CITIZENS IS TO THE UNITED STATES.

When a man is born in this country, he is born a citizen of the United States, in allegiance to the United States government, first of all—not to the State first of all; and there is no reserved right of the State to take away from him any right which his United States citizenship carries with it. As a United States citizen he is bound to be represented in the United States government, and this right of representation is unavoidable and indestructible by anything that the State can do. If not, then the United States government is not the supreme government, but is only an adjunct or servile asteroid of the State governments. It is a fundamental and essential faculty of an independent, true government, which can claim allegiance, that it regulate and protect the representation of its citizens in its own national representative assembly. If it have not this power, but is dependent for its representatives from the people upon the will of another State, then it is a sham, a contempt, a worthless appendage. It becomes only a pilot fish for a shoal of State whales. The power of supreme government is a representative power, and the representation is from the persons in allegiance. Whatever takes place in any State, they cannot be cast off from their right of representation in the supreme government, nor can that government be defrauded of its right of representation, coeval and coequal with citizenship and allegiance, by any contrivance or regulation of mere State representation by State citizenship. The right of representation for the General government from all its citizens carries with it the right and power of the security and protection of that right. That right cannot be supreme in two governments at once. It must be co-essential with citizenship and allegiance. When the government claiming allegiance of all the people, without respect to any State government, says the people shall be represented in the House of Representatives, no State can come in and say that only a part of the people shall be represented. To say that, and to have that admitted, makes the State the supreme government, and brings the General government as a beggar to its bar, while it sacrifices the rights of whatever classes or proportion of the citizens it pleases, under pretence of the State right to determine the representation.

You abdicate the quality of national sovereignty, and thirty-six or forty imperia in imperio take it from you and assume it over you. You may assume to be the head of gold, but you give the regency and the brains to the feet of iron and clay.

But the government that our fathers constructed was not such a Nebuchadnezzar's image; if it were, it will be ground to powder. When they said in our Constitution that the electors of representatives in the General government shall have the same qualifications as of representatives to the most numerous body of the State legislatures, they assumed as the foundation of republicanism, both in the General and the State governments, the fundamental, inalienable right to vote as belonging to the people, and placed the right of the people to be represented in the General government on the same basis with the right of representation in their own State government.

RIGHT OF REPRESENTATION THE CORRELATIVE OF ALLEGIANCE.

What and who is a citizen? One who owes allegiance. If he owes allegiance, the government owes to him protection of all those rights for the security of which allegiance is proffered and citizenship secured. The citizens are those who have created the government for their own protection, and the vote is the primal right and power of such creatorship, and they cannot abdicate that right, or be divested of it without being changed from sovereigns into slaves. The assertion in the Senate by Mr. Howard is unquestionably false, "that it has not been regarded as a fundamental right lying at the foundation of our society." Because it was so regarded, and the British government denied it, our fathers revolted against that government, and threw it off as an unrighteous and despotic yoke, for themselves and their posterity. Representation, not of slaves nor skins, but of the people, the whole people, was the fundamental right for which and by which they contended. The right of suffrage was and is the right of representation. If representation belongs to all the people, so does suffrage. If representation is a fundamental right, so is suffrage—for the one cannot exist without the other, any more than the air that we breathe can exist without its component elements. And it might as well be averred that the right to breathe our atmosphere was not a fundamental right, unless there were a local law permitting us to breathe oxygen.

One might as well assert that though life and locomotion were the natural right of all, yet the breathing of the air was not. The Senator from Michigan might have argued that the breathing of the air "has always been regarded in this country as the result of positive local law. It has not been regarded as one of those fundamental rights lying at the foundation of our society, and without which people cannot exist without being slaves or subjected to a despotism."

Now, for what purpose is this denial of the fundamental right of suffrage at this time introduced? It is a covered way for the destruction of that right in the colored race. It is for the purpose of justifying that act of robbery. It is not pretended that white men have not fundamentally the right of representation, or that there is any purpose or any danger of their being deprived of it. But it is that they themselves, the whites, in council, are resolved to take away their right from the blacks; and having the power of law-making entirely in their own hands, and being determined that the blacks shall never be admitted to any share in the white men's government, they cut off the blacks by denial of any fundamental right to vote, and by asserting suffrage to be the creation of local law; and by putting the word white into such law, as in the case of Colorado, they accomplish their work of moral assassination, and justify themselves in it. They make a law that every white man has the right to vote—but no black man. The whole ground and object of discussing the question is not to establish or protect for any one a right, but to take it away from a class whom it has been concluded expedient to rob.

Here are two hundred thousand soldiers, whom we have put forward to defend our freedom and our life with the bullet, whom we proceed to reward by robbing them of the right to defend themselves and their own freedom, peaceably, morally, constitutionally, with the ballot? For this purpose we pervert the covenant of our fathers, and by amendment of the Constitution, we force upon an article in it which was intended to secure the right of representation as a right of citizenship, the conveyance of authority to destroy that right. As we formerly made a fugitive slave law under pretence of fulfilling the article providing for justice, and appointed slave-hunters with rewards, we have now contrived an instrumentality of disfranchisement in the centre of an article based on the inviolability of the right of representation. There is not only no opposition to this outrage, but in order to justify it we deny the right of representation as not belonging to the people. Yet when it is proposed to take away that right for only four years' quarantine of rebels, there is a storm of indignation. The right belongs to rebels as citizens, so inalienably, that four years' armed rebellion cannot take it away. It is such a right for them, that the taking of it from them makes them slaves, but when our plan is to take it from the loyal colored man, our justification is that it belongs to nobody but by gift of the government.

A BIRTH-RIGHT OF HUMANITY DENIED.

For the sake of justifying a local law that deprives black men of the right to vote, white men are found base enough to denude themselves as men of that right, and to defend it as being white men in power; they strip themselves of the attributes of humanity, the rights of man, in order that by contrivance of special law they, as white men, may exclude the blacks. They vote themselves into a privilege by the color of the skin, which they deny to themselves as belonging to themselves as men; their skin is better than their manhood. A set of well tanned human hides would be more dignified, more worthy to make laws, than these politicians who thus deny their manhood to exalt their skin.

We despise our birth-right in order not to be compelled to share it with the colored race. In order to gratify our prejudice and pride we deny and reverse the most sacred principles of our government. Every other government on earth is advancing, is endeavoring to carry to more complete and perfect working its fundamental powers and vitalities. We are going backward; Russia is advancing, England is advancing. The governments of the Old World are enlarging their principles. We are contracting ours, and denying the faith of our fathers. When was the right of representation ever before questioned? But now it is affirmed to be a boon from the government, in order to cut off the colored race from being sharers in it. The natural rights of citizenship are contested, solely in order that negroes may be deprived of them. That is our statesmanship, the whole scheme and labor of reconstruction—to bring in the rebels and keep out the negroes. We took the negroes into our armies to fight for our own rights, protecting us from the rebels. We now refuse to protect them from the same rebels; we give up their rights, and enact that the rebels shall have the right to rob them, and we strip them of their own right of self-defence, we take away their citizenship, and return the rebels into power over them as being the only citizens with the right to vote. We renew the old State laws against them. Whatever is against them we enact, for we have the power to sweep away all that legislation, and whatever we permit, we establish. *Qui facit per alium facit per se.* We are supreme to do evil, but to do good we have no power. We cannot do justly against public opinion.

A FREE AND JUST REPRESENTATION, NOT PUBLIC OPINION, THE RULE OF LEGISLATION.

A distinguished representative from Massachusetts (Mr. Banks) is reported as saying that he "had no doubt that the government of the United States had full authority to extend the elective franchise to the colored people of the South; but he did not think it had the power. The public opinion of the country was such at this moment as to make it impossible. He therefore thought it wise on the part of the Committee on Reconstruction to waive that matter in deference to public opinion. He approved the proposition to disfranchise the enemies of the country. He did not care much whether the extension of franchise to the negro was coupled with it." That is, in his judgment, it was just to disfranchise the enemies of the country; it was also expedient to disfranchise its friends. The enemies of the country, being white, possess the franchise by virtue of their citizenship; being white, they cannot be deprived of it except by special law and in punishment for crime. The friends of the country being black, are excluded from it by their color, and cannot be possessed of it except by special law, and although the Congress have the authority thus to bestow it, it is expedient to withhold it in deference to public opinion.

Public opinion is thus clothed with the authority of legislation, and enthroned in its place. Public opinion is enacted as law; prejudice and social oppression are enacted as law. This is American statesmanship. Let the enemies of the country be disfranchised in punishment for treason. Let the friends of the country be also disfranchised in deference to public opinion, because of their color.

Was this distinguished representative sent by the people of Massachusetts to legislate in deference to *such* public opinion? Or to carry out the principles of a just and free Constitution in the protection of a republican government secured by law? Whose public opinion? If that of Massachusetts, it is well known to be in favor of suffrage; if that of the rebels and their treason, against it. But where is the evidence? the expression? If solemn and permanent laws are to be shaped by it, there must be some definite, unmistakable development and proof of it. But suppose the public opinion is in the wrong, and the constitutional obligation and authority of Congress in the right.

Moreover, there is an ancient edict, Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil. That which is altogether just shalt thou follow. He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God, not of public opinion. Our representatives are appointed to enact and administer just laws, and not public opinion. If public opinion is the guide of statesmanship and the rule of affairs, then the rebels were justified in their rebellion in behalf of slavery, just as completely justified in keeping slaves and fighting for that privilege as we are justified in withholding the right of suffrage from the blacks, which belongs to them as citizens. It was public opinion that justified Aaron in moulding the golden calf. It was public opinion of them that sat at meat with him that justified Herod in the murder of John the Baptist. It was public opinion that guided Pilate's statesmanship when he gave up Christ at the voice of the multitude to be crucified, but set Barabbas the murderer free. Even so, now, the rebels are rewarded with freedom and the vote; the loyal colored race are delivered to their will to be crucified.

A PERILOUS AND DESPOTIC REVOLUTION.

Now the great revolution which is this instant going on is this. The government are deliberately taking from the people their sovereign rights as people, and putting them out of the citizens' power to recover, and out of the power of the United States to protect, by transferring them over to the States as State rights; not the people's rights, no longer rights at all, but conferred dignities, at the pleasure of the State sovereignties. From the people as the people represented in the United States government as their government, to the States as States, constituted, by this revolution the masters of the government and people. The government are conveying away the people's securities from their own keeping in trust for the people over into the power of State sovereignties to keep *from* the people, cutting off the coupons as they please, and paying to whom they please, as a boon, not a right, not a property.

It is impossible not see the transaction? It was in the Reconstruction plan of the President for the rebel States from the outset; but the amendment now proposed goes farther, giving to all the States what Congress have no right to give to any, because it belongs to all the people, and was never committed to the Congress to legislate away, but to guard and confirm to and for the people; giving to the States, as the States please, the power of withholding *from* the people, by local law, their primal, inalienable right to the vote.

The people's right to vote in, under, and for the government to which they owe allegiance, is between them and that government alone; belongs to them alone, with respect to that government; and no State can take it away. The people as citizens of the United States can exercise it, anything in any State to the contrary notwithstanding. If it were not so, their liberties are precarious indeed. If they could not vote for their own representatives in that government, which, under God, they have created anew, by preserving it from destruction at the hands of State rebel sovereignties; if they could not vote without the intervention of another government, the State government saying whether they should or not, and empowered to take away that privilege and right at its pleasure, or to forbid the people's exercise of it, they are serfs, not freemen. The citizens of the United States have no government but a State lordship over them. They hold even the rights possessed under their own government as a boon from an inferior government, called theirs, but which is really a machinery by which cunning politicians may wield the people's power for their own advantage and take away the people's rights to perpetuate their own oligarchy.

As well might it be left in the power of England to say whether you should vote for representatives in Congress. The State is not your State, any more than England is your England, if you have not this power of representation belonging to you as a right which it cannot take away. Your right to vote for representatives in Congress belongs to you as citizens, in allegiance to that government of which the Congress are your administrators; it belongs not to the State, but to you as citizens of the United States, and no State can take it away. No State can take away from you, because you are also citizens of the State, what belongs to you as citizens of the United States; and is a correlative right and duty of your allegiance, under the United States government. If the State could, by virtue of your citizenship and allegiance in the State, compel you to resign your rights and privileges as citizens of the United States, you are under a despotism, and there is none to protect you. Instead of being sovereign owners of the mill, you are between the millstones.

And this is just where the Congress of the United States are putting you, in abdicating in your name your sovereign right to vote, and passing it over into the power and at the disposal of the State governments. This is done in and for the rebel States, for the sake of trampling down the negroes, and restoring the rebels to power over them. But in doing this they enact a treasonable revolution against the authority, rights, and liberties of the people. Instead of returning into your own hands as citizens the primal power of suffrage, which they refuse to protect for you, they pass it over into the hands of State oligarchies, conveying it away from you by a bargain with third parties, who in the rebel States are to keep your power, your rights, in their hands at their pleasure. In return for this revolution, and by means of it, they take their place as sovereign States in a government that has abnegated its own power of protection, and transferred its subjects to the will and disposal of rebel State oligarchies. This is done without consulting the citizens themselves, the people thus transferred.

Put yourselves in their place. Would you resign your representative citizenship? Did you ever agree that your right to vote for your United States representatives should be taken away by your State Legislature? On the contrary, do you not hold that right as an element of personal sovereignty over your own State, an element and a right, by which you keep in check your own State, and hold a double bit to prevent it from passing into a local despotism? Now let that personal right to vote for your representatives in Congress be put at the disposal of your State Legislature, and instead of your holding a double bit upon the State, the State holds a double bit on you. The State puts you into a vice, and turns the screws upon you at its pleasure. That is the revolution that is now going on, for the sake of putting the negro under the rebels.

Your own Congress are putting your right of representation in their body out of your power into the power of the State Legislature, and out of their power to protect for you into the power of the State Legislature to take away from you. And they are doing this on the pretence that your right of suffrage "is not in law one of the privileges and immunities secured by the Constitution." They are doing it on the pretence "that your right of suffrage has not been regarded as one of those fundamental rights lying at the foundation of our society, and without which people cannot exist without being slaves, or subjected to a despotism." Your Congress hand you, the people, over to the States to put you in straight-jackets as political lunatics, if you presume to assert your own inalienable right of representation, irrespective of the will of the Legislature. In other words, your Congress decide that the State owns you, instead of you owning the State.

The State Legislature is converted by the Committee of Fifteen into a Diaphragm Filter for the inalienable rights of the people, who thenceforth cannot get so much as a cup of cold water without going to the State sovereignty for it, and there receiving as a boon what belongs to them by citizenship. Few, indeed, will be the natural rights of the people remaining after running through the complication of political seives constructed as strainers. True, they do not apply this to white men; it is for negroes; it is to keep out the blacks from the rights of white men. The blacks shall have the mud, but the gold and diamonds shall be for the white race. But, in order to cover up and justify the fraud, the denial of the natural right of representation becomes necessary and is resorted to; and that constitutes a revolution, by which at any time your house may be set on fire as well as your black neighbor's, or a writ of ejectment issued against you from all your premises of inalienable rights and franchises.

It is a revolution, changing the whole government from a republican, representative government to an oligarchy, in which rebel States will have the supremacy by virtue of having the largest number of helpless citizens trampled into serfs. And the question is, Are you willing, for the sake of providing a way by which the rebel States may trample on the negroes, and come into the Union with them under foot, to have your own right of representation in your own government denied, or put at the disposal of the State governments? If so, you deserve to be made slaves, and in fact the act and amendment by which the rebel States come into the Union with the blacks under their feet sets you also under the feet of an oligarchy, choosing to return to a more degraded condition than your fathers fought to deliver you from.

You deny your own birthright, not for a mess of pottage—there would be comparative virtue in that; but for the sake of denying to the negro a participation in human rights. You consent to base the most sacred of your own rights on the whiteness of your skin, in order that you may take away the most sacred rights of the colored race on account of the blackness of theirs. What your fathers fought for unto the death as an inalienable right of freedom, because they were men, you accept as a boon of tyranny, because your skins are white. And this doctrine now taught in Congress makes rebels, slanderers, and hypocrites of your dead fathers, for the sake of rewarding living rebels with power as loyal men, and putting down loyal citizens by disfranchisement under them. As Burke once said, Your Senators and Representatives unplumb the dead for bullets to assassinate the living. They desecrate our fathers' sepulchres, and the altar of human nature itself, and immolate the colored race by tricks; the dice being loaded, the amendment a fraud. May God preserve the people, and restrain the State Legislatures from consummating the proposed iniquity.

THE COMING TEST OF THE CHURCH'S CHARACTER.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

PASSING two persons in the street, I heard a hard, coarse voice say—"Wal, I'm not so clear about that being my dooty." This remark (I mean its substance, not its dialect) brought to my mind some thoughts about the source whence we derive the idea of duty; about the great church organization which applies itself to the interpretation of that idea; about the strangeness of the fact (considering the church's antecedents and pretensions) that this body should have chosen to give its support and influence to the institution of slavery, up to the very point when slavery openly identified itself with disloyalty; and about the providential opportunity which now opens for this much-professing and little-performing body to do works meet for repentance. It is on the last two of these points that I propose now to speak.

The fact is indisputable: the change (if there be a change) in the practical attitude of the church in regard to slavery, has appeared only since the year 1860; only since the slave power took open ground against the government and the nation. Up to that time, the great mass of Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians—I mention these because they constitute so immense a majority of the whole, not as meaning to imply that the smaller sects were much better—threw their influence on the side of slavery. Their Southern members and ministers took part in it. Their Northern members and ministers made no objection. Their ecclesiastical bodies paid no attention to the matter, but gave consent to slavery by their silence, until individuals or small minorities forced the subject upon them by petition or protest; in the cases where such petition or protest was made, the ecclesiastical authorities took the same disgraceful and dishonest course that was taken by the Managers of the American Tract Society and of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, namely—first to disregard or evade these remonstrances; next to postpone action by requiring time for examination; and, when the perseverance of the remonstrants made some action indispensable, to compromise the matter by admitting, in elaborately devout phraseology, the evil character and evil tendencies of the system, but declaring themselves, nevertheless, unauthorized to prohibit it, and thus admitting its indefinite continuance under the sanction of religion.

The grounds alleged for this decision were as bad as the decision itself. The Reverend gentlemen to whom these matters were referred for consideration, and whose duty it was to propose some plan by which the chuch should purge herself from participation in slaveholding and support of slavery, invariably took these two grounds of defence for their slaveholding church brethren:—first, the Christian character of those brethren was unquestionable, being assured by their membership and good standing in the church; and therefore no church rule allowed interference with them; next, and chiefly, there was no Scripture warrant for either the excommunication of slaveholders or the prohibition of slaveholding. The upshot of their representation was that the church *could* not interfere, if it would. As the party opposed to slavery increased in numbers and influence, the representation, by advocates of the church, of its *desire* to oppose slavery was more and more strongly expressed, but it went no further than expression. They would not, at any rate, break with the slaveholders, those dear Christian brethren; on the other hand, they wished not to lose from their connection a number so large as the opposers of slavery. They therefore talked with the latter and acted with the former. They joined the former in the premises and the latter in the conclusion. They echoed all that the Abolitionists said about the injustice and cruelty of slavery, its vicious character and pernicious tendency; but, considering the tolerance given by the Bible (so they said) to slaveholding, and the Christian character of the slaveholders, as judged by the creeds of their churches, they could not feel authorized to recommend any church prohibition of slavery.

The church was thus brought, by the action of its most eminent and honored representatives, lay and clerical, into this disgraceful position; clinging to the letter of the Bible, and counting the Old covenant as binding as the New, it utterly sacrificed the spirit of Christianity, trampled upon the poor, the weak and the oppressed, those "little ones" for whom Christ's most earnest appeal was made, and maintained that the regenerate state and Christian character of the slaveholder were less affected by the enormous cruelties commonly perpetrated in that relation than by the least departure from the speculative doctrines set forth in the creed!

We are shocked at that arrangement (not only existing, but made conspicuously and shamelessly prominent in the time of Luther), by which the Roman church sold, for a sum of money, the right to commit crimes. We do not understand how the persons who taught this doctrine, and lived by it, and received, in the most literal sense possible, the "wages of sin," could have had the assurance to call themselves Christians. But here, in our own enlightened land (as we call it), among our Protestant sects, in a region where, as we flattered ourselves, "the preaching of the Gospel" was more purely and faithfully done than in other countries, the cloak of Christianity has been used by clerical hands to cover that institution of slavery which was admitted to be the disgrace of our country, the glaring antithesis of our democratic theory of government, the mother of numerous and enormous corruptions, and the greatest obstacle to the diffusion of true Christianity! This is the disgraceful attitude which our religion held openly, before the eyes of all men; and if it has left this attitude, the change is due, not to repentance, confession and voluntary amendment, but to a destruction by other hands, the hands of the military and civil power, of that slave system to which the church had given her unceasing support.

If the churches have left the attitude, in which they persevered so many years, of deliberate complicity with oppression! Have they left it? This is a question in which every lover of religion is interested. But how to solve it? The disposition and character of the church upon this point are not decided by the incidental or providential removal of a vicious institution which the church was supporting. Her better character, if she has one, must be shown by her works. If the tree shall bring forth good fruit, even at this late day, it shall have honor and credit accordingly. But what are the good works which will suffice as evidence in this case? Will it answer the purpose simply to treat free men as free? Will it be sufficient for the Bible and Tract Societies no longer to *refuse* to distribute Bibles and Tracts to that large class of the American people to whom they formerly turned the cold shoulder? Will it be sufficient for the various sects to carry on their work of proselytism among this class as among others, letting them take their chance, in the hot conflict of political, social and ecclesiastical prejudice, for the attainment of those rights which the Bible and the Constitution unite in declaring the rightful heritage of all? Will it be sufficient for "churches of Christ" (such is the name by which they dare to call themselves) to act merely no worse than "the world" does towards a suffering, wronged and oppressed class, a class in whose oppression they have joined? While this class is in the very crisis of the decision whether they are now to take the position of free men and women, or to linger through a fearful "middle passage" between slavery and freedom, will it be sufficient for "Churches of Christ" to gaze upon this struggle as spectators, without doing vigorous and active work in maintenance of the right?

In the name of God, No! Let all who have eyes to see and ears to hear take note of the side which shall now be taken on this subject, first by the great ecclesiastical bodies which annually, or triennially, or quadrennially meet to pass resolutions and take measures, to review their past and plan for their future, and then by the clergymen and laymen of their respective churches. This collective force, "the church" of the country, as it had the power (had the will but existed) to abolish slavery in times past, has now the power to settle this other great question, whether the negro shall be deemed a man and a citizen. Will the church now, at last, before the contest is decided by other hands, range herself on the right side? Will she right, here and now, while the example may have its weight with other sections of the community, the wrongs she has herself inflicted on the negro in her own sanctuaries? Will she give him his seat with others in the house of worship, and *openly* repeal the infamous church by-laws which have so long stamped him as of "low caste" in the Sabbath meetings themselves? Will she admit him into her Schools, Academies, Colleges, Theological Seminaries? Will she give him just and respectful treatment in her ecclesiastical Conventions and assemblies? Will she secure to him kind and fraternal treatment in those Societies of her pupils, the "Young Men's Christian Associations," which formerly played so disgraceful a part in fraternizing with slavery?

The action or inaction of the churches in matters of this sort, and this very year, will be our best evidence of the genuineness of their religion and humanity. Let this touchstone be applied to their Associations, their periodicals, their meetings, their enunciation of principles. Coming in at the eleventh hour, after long unfaithfulness and negligence, let it appear whether they have a disposition to do heartily the work that remains, and apply an antidote to the poison diffused by Bishop Hopkins, and President Lord, and Doctors Seabury and Southside Adams. If such faithful service shall be done, even now, by that mighty institution which has been "The Great Bulwark of Slavery," Abolitionists will give the fact due record and due honor. But the proof is yet to be given.

CONGRESS.

Translated for the STANDARD from the Boston Pionier.

CONGRESS has now so far manifested its purposes, that a pretty definite judgment may be passed thereon. The substance of the same would be, that the "opposition," which hitherto sustained Congress against the Executive, ought to face against Congress itself; and that the epithet "radical," so lavishly bestowed on the occupants of the Capitol, should no longer be breathed within its walls.

Congress has not dared to decide the question, so forcibly put to it, whether the President be its master or the instrument of its enactments.

It has not dared to bring the felon of the White House to justice, and by this omission it has opened the door of impunity to every conceivable administrative crime against the republic.

It has not even dared to abridge the President's power of corruption; for it had the cowardice to reconsider its enactment, limiting the arbitrary removal of officials to make room for political sycophants.

It has deserted the laws it made for the punishment and prevention of rebellion, by its dastardly sufferance of their continued infraction.

It has abandoned the only platform of equal rights and of enduring reconstruction, whereby it has—despite Freedmen's Bureaus and Civil Right's Bills—hurled the negro back into the clutch of the man-thieves.

What it did, was the least it could do, with barely keeping its skirts clear of the treason of the White House, while holding the road open for an ultimate re-union with the Tennessee traitor, seems to be an aim nearer its heart than the maintenance of the nation's life-principle.

The propositions of the Reconstruction Committee—bad enough as they went to the Senate—came from it still worse. The section depriving rebels of suffrage was expunged. This were an improvement, had an equal measure been meted to the negroes. Had the rebels been disfranchised, there might have remained some hope of justice being done the negro by the States; but now, that rebels govern, to the exclusion of loyalists, the fundamental principle of democracy is not merely abandoned in assertion, but utterly repudiated in practice.

The amendments now under way will, if ratified, sully the Constitution with a stain of infamy heretofore unknown to our history: to wit, not alone *the creation of a class of disfranchised "male citizens,"* but also the positive sanction of the disfranchisement of woman. Hitherto, the Constitution knew no discrimination in sex. It speaks of "the people," of "persons," of "citizens," but never of "male citizens." Now it is to be enriched by a provision abridging the representation of States in the proportion in which their "male citizens" are disfranchised; which amounts to an express sanction of the disfranchisement of females. The national structure is thus avowedly based on a foundation depriving one-half of the people of the rights of citizenship or the means of ever attaining them.

Before the commencement of the present session, Speaker Colfax proclaimed the realization of the Declaration of Independence, regarding the "equality of all men" as the mission of the National Legislature. It is plain to see how that mission has been understood. The suffrage of the freedman is left in the hands of his late master, while the female part of the nation—one-half of "all men"—is thrust down to even a more helpless and hopeless political bondage than that of the late slave. Congress declares, in effect, to the people of the States: "If you curtail the suffrage of the negro, we shall curtail your representation in these halls; but to deprive your mothers, sisters and wives of the ballot is a proceeding entirely in order and beyond cavil."

Sec. 1. of the proposed amendment, says:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," etc.

Query: what signifies being "a citizen of the United States," if one can be so without the elective franchise? What "privileges or immunities" has a "citizen" debarred of that fundamental right? What is the import or value of that entire section, with all its phrases, if the "privileges and immunities" thus secured be not specified, or if they exclude a privilege the most vital and an immunity the most cherished; and if the prohibition of depriving "any person" of "life, liberty or property, without due process of law," or of denying them "the *equal* protection of the laws," be coupled with an *unequal* distribution of the voting—the law-controlling—power?

The main point yet to be settled by Congress is the readmission of the rebel States to the Capitol. Will it endeavor to satisfy its master "at the other end of the avenue" also on that score? That master has, for some time, kept the peace to a remarkable extent, omitting entirely his accustomed denunciations of the "traitors" at the Capitol. The latter appear to take this as the sign of a disposition to return to the much discussed "harmonious understanding;" whereas it is but a game of malicious hypocrisy, played to encourage a speedy adjournment. As soon as the people's representatives have fairly gone into the trap, the autocrat will demonstrate to them what use can be made of the vacation. They may return, in December, to find their seats partially occupied by "restored" rebels under the protection of a Prætorian guard, and under the acclimations of all the "friends of the Administration" procured to it by the atrocious treason of "my policy."

AFFAIRS IN THE SOUTH.

IN a report to the Chamber of Commerce, which was read and ordered to be printed, Thomas W. Conway, late Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, says the feeling he has found prevailing in the North toward the South among merchants and business men is almost universally one of kindness and fraternal interest. The willingness to aid planters either by loans of money, advances in crops, or by purchase of lands, is general. The agricultural year began with a readiness on the part of the North to lend as much money as the Southern planters needed to bring back their former prosperity. The substantial men whom he met think it possible to end present uncertainty, and that, united with the largest mercy to the rebels of the South, there ought to be the largest justice to her loyalists.

THE FEELING OF THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH TOWARD THE NORTH.

In writing upon this subject, Mr. Conway says:

It will be easily understood, from the spirit and temper of the business men of the North, how much good the South might derive from the exercise of a similar disposition. There was no impediment thrown in the way of investing Northern capital in Southern tillage and traffic so far as the men capable at the North of making such investment were concerned. They were ready and anxious. But unfortunately for the South (whose planters, by every mail, and by means of large numbers of agents sent for the purpose, were calling for help), her temper of hatred for the Northern people had not abated sufficiently, nor was there a sufficient restoration of peace and order within her borders to justify Northern men in the belief that they could live and safely transact business in any section of the South. While many good men were there to be found ready to welcome citizens of any portion of the Union among them, yet the mob element so far preponderated, and the spirit of recklessness and lawlessness was so generally manifested, that every wheel was blocked. But few (out of large numbers) settled in the South. I presume I may safely calculate that under my own influence and exertions, three millions of dollars were taken by respectable men into various Southern States, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, with a view to its being there invested in purchases of land, in loans or advances to planters, and in other ways. To my certain knowledge, most of the holders of these funds have returned with the conviction that Northern men of unmistakable loyalty are not safe excepting where Union bayonets secure them protection.

I know of some instances wherein men were threatened with murder if they did not quit the Southern neighborhood within a certain length of time, and others in which parties were treated by the people with such contempt as to fill them with disgust and cause them to make a rapid return to regions where they could feel that to be a loyal American citizen, instead of attracting indignation, was something to be proud of.

There would seem to be no general return of the Southern people to loyalty or devotion to the Federal government. The people evince a strong hatred of Northern men, and of the government, even when by so doing their farms are left to grow up in weeds, and themselves must bear hardships of the worst kind. I met men in Louisiana and Alabama a short time since, who rather than sell their lands to Northern men, or work them by means of money borrowed in the North, would see them lie waste. A few have told me that before they would hire their former slaves as free laborers, they would starve. This spirit is not general, but the spirit of hatred toward Northern men is almost universal. Northern money is welcome enough, but rather than have Northern men as its managers and investors among them, I am quite settled in the conviction that these Southerners would rather utterly forego the funds, it matters not what sufferings such conduct might entail upon themselves and their region.

Emigrants from the North, instead of being welcomed, have been driven away; and most of those who have returned will not again attempt to invest their capital in that direction. Some of those who went South, and who have as yet remained, write me that as soon as they have gathered this year's crop, they will return to the North. They complain that the civil offices are nearly all filled by men who are disloyal, and that law is administered with a bias of partiality for Southern as against Northern men. This representation I know to be correct so far as my own observation has gone. Throughout Louisiana there is simply one rule observed in the filling of civil offices. It is that none but rebels shall be in office, and many of the Federal appointees to offices have in a great measure assisted in the adoption of this principle instead of meeting it with united, avowed, and unfaltering opposition and condemnation. What is true of Louisiana is true of the entire South, so far as my information enables me to judge, and nearly four years and-a-half spent mainly among the people of the Gulf States might be supposed to qualify me to form something which should approach a correct judgment in the case.

In the third place, allow me to allude to the subject of

LABOR AND THE FREEDMEN.

The Southern people have, many of them, been looking to and laboring for the extermination of the black race from this country. This I say knowing whereof I affirm. Gov. Wells of Louisiana told me not long ago that he hoped very soon to see the blacks gradually driven from the country; and that he believed them doomed to disappear from among us, and that, too, at a very early day. This statement Gov. Wells has repeated to others several times. Ex-Gov. Sharkey of Mississippi told me the same thing a short time ago in Washington, and has repeated the statement, under oath, before the Committee on reconstruction, as has already appeared in the public journals.

A conviction like this cannot serve any good purpose. It is mischievous in itself; it tends to mischief; and men are mischievous who disseminate it. From this view springs bad treatment of the blacks. The idea that the freedmen *ought* to be driven out, associates itself with the belief that they will be; and then arises the idea that it is not wrong to hasten the period of their extermination, by the infliction of as much cruelty as possible; and so the freedmen are treated harshly, unmercifully, unjustly. The public mind is not informed of the one-hundredth part of the wrongs endured by the patient freedmen. Were these wrongs known to good men of every creed or party, as they ought to be, a storm of indignant vengeance would fall upon the authorities that allow them, or attempt to cover them; and the department of the government created for the especial protection of these freedmen, would be strengthened for good, instead of being strangled to gratify those who, in the South, nurse this haughty hatred, and practice these savage outrages.

So long as the owners of land in the South strive to exterminate the freedmen, so long must labor be uncertain and irregular in its activities, unproductive and unreliable as to its results. I am convinced that, as things now are in the South, the products of that section will be found to decrease, while the lands remain in the hands of Southern men, because of the wrongs they inflict upon the labor they employ, and these wrongs will diminish or utterly cease only in the ratio that new men, more just to their laborers, enter the country to settle and till it. It is as certain as that day follows the night, that peace and prosperity will come to the South only in the train of, and by the operation of just laws assuring equality before the

law to the rights of all classes, and banishing the present reign of lawlessness and savagery. The Freedmen's Bureau, under the commendable administration of Maj.-Gen. Howard, is the only source of protection enjoyed by the Freedmen, and were this means withdrawn, it is my belief that the condition of the Southern people, black and white, would be many fold worse than it is. If good men, acting upon the principle that it is always best to do right, but uplift a united voice to the National government, demanding such legislation as will end this reign of gloom and iniquity at the South, which now shame and disgrace us, we may confidently expect such a stream of national prosperity as we have never before had. And no class have the interest, or have the right to act with more energy in this matter, than the merchants, traders and manufacturers of our country. Cotton will never come from the South in such quantities as our condition needs until the labor that produces it has as much justice and protection as the capital that supplies that labor.

THE COTTON CROP OF THIS YEAR.

This, so far as the best information which I have been able to gather from Northern and Southern men extends, will range nigh the sum of 2,500,000 bales. Had Northern men been allowed to enter the South, and to live there in peace, there would have been another million of bales added to this estimate. As it is, enterprise has been paralyzed, and industry has waited the return of order and security. The causes for this small crop, as represented by many government officers, and by loyal citizens resident in the South, are the overflow of some sections by breaks in the levees, the worthlessness of the cotton seed in others, and the want of means with which to employ laborers.

OPINIONS OF BRITISH CAPITALISTS.

After giving in these terms the result of his investigations in this country, Mr. Conway devotes some space to the views of British capitalists. He says they have determined to wait until the capitalists of the North invest money in the South before they will attempt to invest theirs. They regard the people of the South as unsettled, unhappy, and hostile to the national authority; the lawlessness and disorder to be found there makes life and property insecure, and the treatment of the freedmen such as to render the laboring class discontented and dissatisfied. They also affirm that under the weight of oppressive local laws, ostensibly against vagrants, but really oppressing the freemen, and the exercise of a violent prejudice on the part of former masters, the newly enfranchised bondmen might move in large numbers and by sudden migration to other sections of the country in quest and hope of better treatment, and that for these reasons the labor of the South would be so uncertain that all investments entangled in it might be lost rapidly and utterly.

The report closes with the following paragraph: "I now believe all efforts tending in the direction marked out by the resolution of the Chamber, and by various companies of Northern men, are, under the present mood of the Southern mind, likely to be wasted upon a people who hate the North, the Union, and the freedmen, almost as intensely as they did when the rebellion was in its full career. I may here state that I have consulted several of the presidents of companies organized for the purpose of encouraging and assisting Southern planters and farmers, and that they inform me that the infatuation and exasperation of the Southern people, their persistent hatred of Northern men, and their injustice to the freedmen have, as a class in their judgment, also rendered efforts comparatively fruitless and nugatory, until the mind of the South shall have reached a more settled and kindly state, or the chapter of events have, in God's wise and good providence, evolved new and more promising conditions for the classes that toil and the classes that rule throughout the Southern portion of our common country."

SPEECH OF THEODORE TILTON.

At a great national fair, held recently in Washington, D. C., for the benefit of children orphaned by the war, Theodore Tilton was invited to give an address, a report of which we find in the Washington *Chronicle*, as follows:

I have just heard, ladies and gentlemen, that your President has introduced the *Reverend* Theodore Tilton. As no such reverend gentleman is present, I take it upon myself, a plain layman, to answer for him as his next friend. (Laughter.) I take pains to say that I am not a minister, lest you should think I mean to preach a sermon. (Laughter.) I think it a cruelty to squeeze you into this tight place, and make you stand still and listen to a speech. As I look down upon this vast audience from this lofty place, you remind me of the famous family out West, which was so large that they hadn't measles enough to go round. (Laughter.) People in front of me, people on either side of me, people behind me. I haven't eyes enough to look at you all, nor tongues enough to address you all, but I trust I have a heart large enough to embrace you all. (Applause.) I remember once reading of a Spartan who went to Athens, and said, "Oh, Athenians, when in my country a matter requires but few words, we never use many." But, oh, Americans, you know very well that in our country when a matter requires no words at all, we always make a speech. (Laughter.) The tongue is like an aspen leaf—once hung in the mouth, it trembles there forever; yes, whether the mouth be man's or woman's. (Laughter.) "Doctor," said a sick lady, "feel of my pulse, and tell me what is the matter." "Well," replied the doctor, "you need rest." "But look at my tongue," said she. "Well, *that* needs rest." (Great laughter.) There is so much speaking in Washington that I should think you would welcome a man who would promise never to open his mouth. Does this beautiful enterprise to which you have lent your hands and your hearts, need any tongue to praise it? No. It is more eloquent than any speech. It is the plea of the orphan. Therefore, let all good men and women—(Just here a voice in the distance cried "Louder!" whereupon Mr. Tilton told an amusing story of a similar interruption of a speech by Marshall.) This house is roofed with the American flag—that star-spangled banner which is a picture of the sky itself. (Applause.) We stand *under* the flag. Thank God! no man now stands *on* it. (Applause.) They who thought to trample that banner were trampled by it. (Applause.) Let the warning, therefore, go forth, once and forever, that whosoever shall strike at American liberty, shall be themselves destroyed. (Applause.) But at what a fearful cost this nation purchased its deliverence! When the wives and mothers of America stood in the doorways to watch the homeward-marching army of liberty, how many watchers turned pale because of unreturning feet! How many houses have been darkened, how many hearth-stones made desolate. Yonder is a picture of the Genius of American Liberty. I draw in my mind a picture of the Genius of American Liberty standing by the graves of her slain heroes, and holding their fatherless little children by the hand, and there proclaiming aloud to all your ears that the orphan of the soldier is the child of the republic. (Great applause.) Mr. Tilton then spoke of the sad condition of an orphan, who, instead of a father and mother to stand on either side like living walls of protection, stood only between two graves. He said that of the half million soldiers who fought against the rebellion, three-quarters were under thirty years of age—and the children of the dead were left fatherless at a very tender age. Is it charity that takes care of these children? No. I hold, said the speaker, that when a man gives his life for his country, he has performed the greatest charity known to mankind. When, therefore, he leaves behind him his sweet and unprotected babes to the care of a country which he has saved, that care is a duty—not a charity. (Applause.) I hold that all the charity that can possibly enter into the case is the charity offered by the soldier—the hero who has been an alms-giver of his blood. In comparison with this lukewarm gift, what are all our meaner gifts of silver and gold? (Applause.) The soldier's grave! How shall we monument it?

> "There honor comes, a pilgrim gray,
> To deck the turf that wraps their clay;
> And Freedom shall awhile repair
> To dwell a weeping hermit there!"

For such graves what monuments are fit? Let the soldier's monument be his orphan protected and blessed! (Applause.) Rear, then, these living monuments. Let these orphans grow to manhood and womanhood, able to say, "My father fell in the war for liberty, and a grateful nation, for *his* sake, has thrown roses under *my* feet to make fragrant the pathway of my life. (Applause.)

Mr. Tilton made an urgent plea in behalf of the great objects of the fair, and as he was about to conclude, was saluted with the cry of "Go on!" Well, said he, then I will go on. The President of the United States, as I am informed, stood, at the opening of this fair, in this self-same mimic White House where now I stand, and he took occasion to say that the money raised by the fair, ought to go as well to orphans of rebel soldiers as of loyal. (Voices: "Never!") You say "Never." I will not join you in that cry. Far be it from me to visit the sin of the fathers upon the children. (Applause.)

The orphan of the rebel is to be pitied—first, for his orphanage. Then he is to be still further pitied because he receives from the dead the sad legacy of a traitor's name. But let me say, and say distinctly, that if the President of the United States thinks the money of this fair ought to comfort the orphan of the disloyal soldier as well as of the loyal, I think it ought to comfort the orphan of the black soldier as well as of the white. (Tremendous cheering.) Would to God the President had said this himself, instead of leaving it to be said by a fanatic and Abolitionist like me. (Laughter, during which some hisses were sent up around the speaker's stand.) Mr. Tilton good humoredly exclaimed, "It seems as if somebody here has been so unkind as to hiss the President of the United States! (Great laughter.) When William L. Yancey was alive, and used to utter in Cooper Institute, in New York, the worst doctrine of the rebellion, I used to listen patiently, and never hiss. I never hissed anybody in my life—not even Andrew Johnson! (Laughter.) I have been for a few days a spectator in Congress. I happened to be there when the vote was taken on the new constitutional amendment. Well, the Union men in Congress are true, noble, and wise—they mean well for their country. Considering the obstacles which the man at the other end of the avenue throws in their way—(great cheering)—I was about to say that, considering the enemy whom they have to fight, they have fought well and gained much. Nevertheless, the new scheme of reconstruction—let me speak frankly—is only the forefinger of justice reached ont to the negro; but you and I must never rest till the government shall stretch out to him the whole right hand of fellowship, to lift him up to his manhood, his citizenship, and his franchise. (Great applause, and some further hisses.) Well, I know that some of you don't like it; but I could talk a great deal worse if I tried. (Laughter.) And I rather like a good, old-fashioned hiss. (Laughter.) It reminds me of the early days. Shall I not say in Washington what I am in the habit of saying at home? Well, then, when I am at home, I say that the only true reconstruction of this Union—the only basis which will endure—the only scheme of which yourselves will not at all be ashamed a year hence—is the one and only true foundation of equal rights. (Great applause.) My motto is, are men equal before the law? As God is no respecter of persons, how dares man to be? Why do you make your statue of Justice blind, if still you permit her to see the difference between a white skin and a black? I hold that high and low, rich and poor, white and black, must all be equal before the law. (Applause.) In this faith I abide, sure of the issue. On this doctrine I stand as on a rock; all else is sand. Any other foundation is wood, hay, and stubble; this is adamant. No settlement will be final which is not fully just. The scheme of to-day is only partial justice. I ask that the horned crescent be rounded to the full moon. (Applause.)

To-day, looking at the dome of the Capitol, I said to myself, "Unto what can it be compared, except to St. Peter's at Rome." But St. Peter's at Rome was originally drafted by Michael Angelo for a greater and fairer structure than the architect was allowed to erect. The great plan was dwarfed. There are authors and planners in Congress of a scheme of reconstruction as full-orbed as Michael Angelo's dome, but the President will not allow it to be built. Nevertheless it must be built, President or no President, Congress or no Congress. Let both ends of the avenue take heed that the party of justice, the party of liberty, is the party that controls the conscience of the nation, and will sooner or later control its policy. Gentlemen in Washington! be it known unto you that you shall never have rest for the soles of your feet, until your legislation shall be squared, every jot and tittle, according to the great rule of equal rights. (Applause.) I know the world was not built in a day. I know this realization of a reconstructed Union cannot be had by a mere wishing. But I know that, sooner or later, God means to give it to this nation. It is written in heaven that the fairest nation on earth shall be modeled on no meaner plan. Keep the glowing ideal, therefore, in your minds. Seek to achieve it—be content with nothing less. Out of the broken fragments of eleven disrupted States reconstruct a Union on the basis of a Christian democracy; otherwise your work will perish—otherwise it ought to perish. Mr. Tilton continued in this strain a few minutes longer, closing with an animated outburst, and taking his seat amid long-continued applause.

MEETING OF COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.

From the Phila. Press, 22d.

Last evening Sansom street Hall was well filled by an audience composed almost entirely of colored persons, called to take some action that would cause the car companies to allow colored persons to ride inside all their cars.

Mr. John C. Bowers was chosen President.—On taking the chair, Mr. Bowers stated the object of the meeting, and related a number of instances of indignities heaped upon colored people by conductors and drivers on the street cars. It was time that Philadelphia, who had so long professed loyalty to all the principles of freedom, should act in accordance with her professions. The cause must never be abandoned.

If, said he, we are true to the principles we claim, we will succeed in that which we desire. He stated that some companies profess to have special cars for colored persons. This is a mere farce. The Seventh and Ninth street lines have one hundred cars, and only two for colored persons.

Rev. Wm. Alston was called upon. He called to mind the many patriotic deeds of the colored soldiers, and said that when they returned home after their hard fought battles, the doors of the cars were shut against them, and they were compelled to walk, which was not the case when the government asked them to perform military duty. Then they were good enough to ride, walk and fight beside their white brethren.

Mr. O. V. Catto offered the preamble and resolutions, which were then adopted, setting forth that political and moral reforms are the creatures of a public sentiment crystalized into law from the effect of agitation, and it is therefore,

Resolved, That we earnestly and unitedly protest against the proscription which excludes us from the city cars as an outrage against the enlightened civilization of the age.

Resolved, That we cannot discover any reason founded in good sense or common justice for the continuance of a practice which has long ceased to disgrace Democratic New York, Washington, St. Louis, Harrisburg and other cities, whose pledges of fidelity to the principles of freedom and civil liberty have not been so frequent as have been those of our own city.

Resolved, That, with feelings of sorrow rather than pride, we remind our white fellow-citizens of the glaring inconsistency and palpable injustice of forcing delicate women and innocent children, by the ruthless hands of ungentlemanly and unprincipled conductors and drivers, to places on the front platforms, subjecting to storm and rain, cold and heat, relatives of twelve thousand colored soldiers whose services these very citizens gladly accepted when the nation was in her hour of trouble, and they seriously exercised, under the chances of impartial drafts, to fill the depleted ranks of the Union army.

Resolved, That while men and women of a Christian community can sit unmoved and in silence and see women barbarously thrown from the cars, and while our courts of justice fail to grant us redress for acts committed in violation of the chartered privileges of these railroad companies, we shall never rest at ease, but will agitate and agitate by our means and by our influence, in court and out of courts, asking aid of the press, calling upon Christians to vindicate their Christianity, and the members of the law to assert the principles of the profession by granting us justice and right until these invidious and unjust usuages shall have ceased.

Resolved, That we do solemnly pledge ourselves to assist by our means any suit brought against the perpetrators of outrages such as those the occurrence of which has convened this meeting; and we respectfully call upon our liberal-minded and friendly white fellow-citizens to cease to remain silent witness of the grievance of which we complain, and to demonstrate the sincerity of their professions by an interference in our behalf.

After the adoption of those resolutions the meeting adjourned.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

IMPORTANT CIRCULAR FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CUBA.

The United States Consul at Havana, Thomas Savine, has inclosed to the Secretary of State a translation of the circular addressed by the present Governor-General of Cuba, Gen. Lersundi, to the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the various Districts of the Island on the subject of the slave trade. Gen. Lersundi expresses himself determined to suppress the traffic.

CIRCULAR.

The government of Her Majesty our Queen, constant in its intention to exterminate the slave trade in these dominions, has just renewed to me the orders which for this purpose had already been dictated, and enjoined upon me the most active and decided persecution against negro-traders, and as it is very possible that they, believing that the present occasion in which there has been effected a recent change in the superior authority of this island, is the most propitious to obtain their end; and acting under this belief, may attempt to land several cargoes of Africans on these coasts, I advise you that I am resolved in respect to the laws and the compliance of my duty not to allow these orders to be infringed for any consideration what ever; and for you to employ all your zeal, watchfulness and activity to capture any expedition that may attempt to land, on the understanding that I will be severe and exact of you the most scrupulous responsibility for any incident in relation to the aforesaid traffic that may occur within the jurisdiction under your command.

God grant your Excellency many years.

FRANCISCO LERSUNDI.

To the Governor (or Lieutenant-Governor) of——.
Havana, June 7, 1866.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1866.

FOURTH OF JULY!

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION.

Under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, the friends of Universal Freedom and Impartial Suffrage (never more anxious than now for the consummation of these interests) will hold a mass meeting at the well-known Grove in Framingham, on Wednesday, the Fourth of July next. Can we better use this sacred day than by meeting to discuss these great interests and rights of humanity, perilled as they are by the pending compromises on the part of our government?

Let our friends, then, rally on this occasion, under this motive, and with the assurance that they will hear eloquent appeals from such speakers as Wendell Phillips, Stephen S. Foster, Henry C. Wright, John T. Sargent, Charles Lenox Remond, Henry Gwynn, late of Savannah, Ga., Wm. Wells Brown, and others.

Trains will be run on the Boston and Worcester railroad and branches as follows: Leave Boston at 9 15 and Worcester at 9 45 a. m., stopping at way stations. Also from Worcester at 9 25, an express train; and from Millbury, Milford, Northboro, Marlboro, by regular trains.

Fares to the Grove and back from Boston, Worcester, and Millbury, one dollar for adults, and fifty cents for children. From Grafton, Newton, and West Newton, ninety cents for adults, and forty-five cents for children. From Milford, Braggville, Metcalf's, Marlboro, Wellesley, Grantville, Cordaville, Southville, and Westboro, seventy-five cents for adults, and forty cents for children. From Natick, Holliston, and Ashland, fifty cents for adults, and thirty cents for children. From Northboro, eighty cents for adults, forty-five cents for children. From East Holliston, forty cents for adults, twenty-five cents for children. Returning, leave the Grove for Boston, Milford, and Worcester at five p. m., and for way stations, above Framingham (except Westboro), by regular trains.

Price of admission to the Grove, fifteen cents for adults, and ten cents for children. Those who come by railroad with *excursion tickets*, admitted *free*. No fireworks allowed within the Grove enclosure. The house at the Grove will be open for refreshments.

☞ In case of rain, the meeting will be held in "Waverly Hall," opposite the Railroad Depot, at South Framingham.

John T. Sargent, Wendell Phillips, Henry O. Stone, } Committee of Arrangements.

Charles K. Whipple, Secretary.

REPUBLICAN RECONSTRUCTION.

We doubt whether any one of the eminent Republicans who sign the Reconstruction report would have consented to put his name to it alone. No one man, it seems to us, would care to admit that this paper contained an expression of his own views. Not because the report is not able; considering the difficulties to be encountered in presenting a statement that was to suit nobody, the work has been done with conspicuous ability. The difficult places are smoothed over with great ingenuity, and where the ice grows thin, the dexterity showed in getting over without a crash, is something marvellous. But everybody feels that this report is discreditable to its authors because it is disingenuous. Perhaps the severest criticism on it is contained in its closing paragraph where the Committee state that their work is the result of mutual concessions after a long and careful comparison of conflicting opinions. They submit it in the hope that its imperfections may be cured and its deficiencies supplied by legislative wisdom. In other words, a dozen Republicans in committee having failed to agree on any scheme of reconstruction or even a statement of its difficulties which will hold water, the matter is committed to a hundred and fifty others, in the hope that they may be better able to harmonize. It would be difficult to come to a lamer conclusion than this, or one which more clearly exhibits the hopelessness of an attempt to rebuild the republic on the basis of justice when the architects are mainly occupied in shoving up the tottering pillars of their party edifice.

We need ask for nothing better than the premises which are laid down in the beginning, and throughout most of the argument of this report. The condition of the South when the war closed, the ample military authority of the President to preserve order, the clear distinction between his power as Commander-in-chief and as President, his incapacity to effect any permanent settlement of civil questions, his repeated acknowledgments that to Congress belonged the work of reconstruction and the right to grant or withhold the forfeited rights of the States, the failure of the President's great concessions to inspire the South with any feeling of genuine loyalty, their ostentatious displays of continued hostility to the Union, their insolent demand for immediate readmission on their own terms, their threats against Congress, their purpose to repudiate the national debt or secure the assumption of their own, their adherence to the doctrines of secession, their hostility to the Freedmen's Bureau, their vindictive hatred of the negro, and determination to deny him all rights, their rage against the white Unionists in their own section of country, the persistent encouragement of this feeling by the policy of the President, and the continued necessity for the occupation of the conquered States by military force, are set forth with great clearness and cogency. The reader is irresistibly led to expect a just inference from this array of facts and arguments, but at the moment when he makes up his mind that for all this disorder there can be but one safe and lasting remedy, the Committee abandon him wholly. Their argument proves that just as the war sprung out of an organized effort to deny civil and political rights to one great class in the Southern States, so the continuance of that effort is the main obstacle to a reconstruction of the Union in the only way in which it can endure. They prove that here is the difficulty, and that the power to remove it is perfect. They convince you that if the government, and especially the law-making power, whose authority is most ample, fail now to apply the remedy, the opportunity may be lost forever. Yet they cannot bring themselves to advise the doing of that thing which they confess is the only safeguard of the future.

The Committee say "That Congress would not be justified in admitting such communities to a participation in the government of the country, without first providing such constitutional or other guarantees as will tend to secure"—what? All those rights to all classes the denial of which imperils the safety of the government and the peace of the country? By no means. This is the point at which the Committee forget their country and the negro in order to remember their party. The party has a platform outside of which it will not do to step, and the only guarantees which the party demands are such "as will tend to secure the *civil* rights of all citizens of the Republic." The Committee might have preserved a logical coherence between the different parts of their report by declaring against the admission of the rebel States until such guarantees had been provided as would ensure the perpetuity of the Republican party, and carry the Fall elections. That is the true reason why the word Civil interferes to limit the word Rights. The party leaders, many of them, are ready for Impartial Suffrage; recognize it as the inevitable policy of the future; privately admit that it is the only safe policy for the present. If you ask them, Why then postpone it, they answer frankly enough that they do not believe the people are ready for it and that it won't do to risk losing the control of the next Congress—in other words, political expediency and not adherence to principle is the guiding star of that great party which justifies its existence by its devotion to ideas. The criticism which will by and by show their mistake, need not go beyond the domain of party politics. Their mistake is in not trusting the people with an idea. The people have looked to Congress for leadership in this struggle, and they would gladly have followed Stevens and Sumner and Kelley up to the platform of universal justice. But when Congress faltered, the people doubted, and for the twentieth time in its short history the want of courage and political sagacity in the leader of the Republican party has made shipwreck of its opportunities. In such a contest as Congress entered upon with the President, its best hope of victory was in a courageous fidelity to those principles which Andrew Johnson betrayed. It was because he betrayed them that the people abandoned him, and when they had once taken sides with his opponents, they were, we firmly believe, perfectly ready for extreme measures. There is always a better atmosphere in Massachusetts and Ohio than in Washington, yet the shrewdest of the Republicans cannot understand this, and from believing the people are no better than themselves, or than the average of commonplace men who fill the two Houses of Congress, they sacrifice the certainty of success, and in a weak effort to save their party, imperil both the party and the country.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

Let none of our New England readers, who are able to attend, fail to be at the meeting to be held at Framingham on Wednesday next. Many orations and addresses will be delivered on that day elsewhere, but too many, we fear, will be toned down and modified by the "ultimatum" doctrine of politicians that to extend suffrage irrespective of color, and to rebuild upon justice, is not now expedient, or within our province, and therefore not to be vigorously urged.

This anniversary of the nation's independence has been the occasion of many important meetings hitherto, but in the present transition period of our affairs, its importance is largely increased by the pending vital issues, in the wise or unwise determination of which is wrapped up the future well-being and destiny, not alone of the negro race, but of the nation as a whole. The truly radical, earnest friends of impartial freedom in all parts of the country should hold meetings on that day and utter such testimonies in behalf of the equality of all men before the law as that the President may be effectively rebuked for his treasonable usurpations, and Congress be warned that unless its false steps be retrieved, it will be spurned by a feeling of outraged justice, on the part of the people, for its base and disgraceful surrender of the pivotal question, in the face of its enemies in and out of the White House. Thus may the fatal mistake we, as a people, seem so likely to commit and perpetuate, be avoided. Thus may the principles of the immortal Declaration of Independence be fitly honored and commemorated.

Our acknowledgments are due to Hon E. D. Morgan, of the U. S. Senate, for a copy of "The Mortality and Miscellaneous Statistics of the Eighth Census of the United States."

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, under the management of Aaron M. Powell, Esq., late of this city, is fast becoming one of the most readable, forcible and earnest papers in the country.—*Brooklyn Daily Union.*

U. S. Army Agency.—We invite the attention of such of our readers as may be interested therein to the advertisement of the U. S. Army Agency, in another column. This Agency is well established, and has achieved a good business reputation.

The Boston *Pionier* says the "great Reconstructor" in the White House belongs, not to the copperhead, but to the "Boa constructor" species of reptiles. Worse than the Potomac "Anaconda" of McClellan's war, it threatens to crush out the life-breath of the nation. The one needlessly struck the country thousands of bleeding wounds; the other grips its throat within deadly folds.

PERSONAL.

Hon. J. W. Edmonds will deliver the address at Hudson, N. Y., July 4th.

Ex-Gov. Wise signs himself "Henry A. Wise, Brigadier-General, C. S. A., prisoner of war on parole."

Gov. Hamilton, who is now in Washington, represents the people of Texas as less loyol than they were a year ago.

Miss Jane Allen was drowned at Lee, on Friday afternoon of last week, while on a boating excursion with some friends.

Senor Benjamin Vicuna Mackenna, some time resident here as agent of the Chilian government, is about to return to Chili.

Charles S. Durfee, principal of Westfield Academy, and son of Rev. Calvin Durfee, broke his leg while playing ball at Northampton on Saturday.

Ross Winans, having made a successful trip to France and back in his "cigar ship," expects to cross the Atlantic in it during the present Summer.

Gen. Charles Devens, after more than five years spent in the military service of his country, has returned to Worcester, Mass., and will resume the practice of his profession.

Anson Burlingame has purchased a tract of land near San Mateo, of 1,100 acres, and proposes to become a resident of California as soon as his mission to China is ended.

Dr. Nelaton, the physician who extracted the ball from Garibaldi's foot, declares that he has great doubts of Garibaldi's fitness for going through a campaign, or indeed undergoing any great fatigue.

Gen. McClellan has given it as his opinion that in a war between Prussia and Austria, Prussia must go to the wall, and, adds a London writer, "he knows what fighting is, and who look like fighters."

The Rev. Mr. Dean was arrested in Cass county, Mo., for preaching without taking the oath of loyalty. He is now in jail at Independence, and refuses to give bail. Seventy-five preachers have been arrested under the new Constitution.

Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, in the Western Unitarian Convention recently held in Buffalo, made an impressive and forcible plea for women preachers, and paid a glowing tribute to Lucretia Mott, Angelina Grimke and Miss Holley.

Gov. Brownlow of Tennessee has issued a proclamation calling the Legislature of the State to meet at Nashville the 4th of July, for the purpose of ratifying the amendment to the Constitution of the United States, just proposed by Congress.

Jesse N. Fulgem of Sandersville, Ga., writes a letter urging the people of Washington County to survey the county and build a schoolhouse in the centre of every six miles square of land; then have good books and teachers, and pay the expenses out of the County Treasury.

Mme. Julie de Marguerites, well known as a dramatic critic and authoress of various works, died suddenly of heart disease this morning. She was for many years a writer for various journals in New York City and elsewhere. Her daughter recently made her *début* on the stage in Baltimore.

The Rev. Samuel Dunn, a noted and popular Methodist preacher in England, has recently been exciting the zeal of large congregations by exhibiting in the pulpit a fragment of John Wesley's preaching gown, two neck-ties formerly worn by Charles Wesley, and the spectacles, comb and pocket-book of Adam Clark.

Rev. Mr. Roberts, a colored clergyman of the Methodist denomination, was made a bishop, of Liberia, Africa, last week at St. Paul's Church, in this city. Rev. Mr. Foss, Rev. Drs. Harris and Carleton, and Bishops Janes and Scott officiated at the consecration. Bishop Roberts will take the place of Bishop Burns, who died a few years ago.

Rev. Ichabod Codding, says the Fond du Lac (Wis.) *Commonwealth*, died in Baraboo Village, last Sunday afternoon, of an affection of the lungs and liver. Mr. Codding has long been known as one of the most radical, effective and eloquent of the band of pioneers of the Anti-Slavery cause. He labored faithfully for many years when it took not only moral, but physical courage to stand up as the advocate of Freedom.

Her Hawaiian Majesty, Queen Emma, is at Carlsruhe at present, where she receives kind attentions from the royal family of Baden. She will make a short visit to Paris, and then revisit England. While there she will occupy Lady Franklin's house at Kensington-gore, which her ladyship has most kindly placed at her disposal. The Queen's stay will probably be brief, and then she will return to her native islands.

Says the Columbia (Hudson, N. Y.) *Republican*—"It appears one of the young men rescued by John Best, of this city, mate of the steamer Dean Richmond, was the son of John C. Fremont, and that the father is not unmindful of the service. On Wednesday last Mr. and Mrs. Fremont called upon Mr. Best and presented him with a magnificent gold watch as a token of their gratitude. It is of American manufacture, double cased, and inscribed

"General and Mrs. Fremont to
John Best,
In grateful remembrance of June
6th, 1866."

Miss Mary G. Halpine, of Nashua, New Hampshire, a contributor to several literary works, had an adventure with a burglar a few evenings since. Only herself and mother were in the house, and it was raining in torrents. She watched the operations of the burglar while he removed a pane of glass and introduced his hand to raise the window; and then, thinking that the affair had been carried far enough, she discharged a revolver twice, dropping him to the ground. A policeman hastened to the spot, but the burglar had escaped, leaving a pool of blood under the window.

OUR ST. LOUIS CORRESPONDENCE.

St. Louis, June 21, 1866.

The Political arena in this State at the present time is the scene of almost as fierce a fight, as were its fertile fields when Treason's hordes ran riot therein, and the contest from present appearances bids fair by the Fall elections to culminate in an armed conflict.

Recreant Republicans—blatant Secessionists—and conservative Copperheads, under the leadership of the Demagogue Frank Blair, and supported and encouraged by the arch traitor Johnson, are making a terrible war upon the Radicals, using every means, both fair and foul, to accomplish the unholy purpose of enfranchising traitors—making treason respectable—and destroying the loyal element of the State.

The Registry law which has been the bulwark of liberty, and which has emasculated treason thus far in this State, is the safeguard against which the most frantic efforts are now being made, by A. Johnson, Blair & Co. They claim that the Supreme Court have, by a majority vote, decided the law to be unconstitutional—that although such decision has not been officially promulgated, still that it makes such law inoperative and void—and that upon this basis will the coming Fall elections be held. Gov. Fletcher, than whom there is none more truly loyal and sound, declares that the whole power of the State shall be used to enforce the law and he is preparing for the strife that will, in consequence thereof, ensue; so that it is possible that we may see a conflict here this Fall, in which the brave and heroic Radicals of this State, backed by the State authorities, will be upon one side, and the mongrel horde that support "my policy," assisted by the United States forces, upon the other—and upon this line the war between Congress and the Executive continued in a more direct shape than it has as yet assumed.

The bloodhounds of Blair are unscrupulous in their work, as is evidenced whenever he has set them in motion.

The following account taken from the Warrensburg *Standard* of June 8th, illustrates the point, and is one of many instances that have occured in the State, where force has been the substitute for argument. Viator.

From the Warrensburg Standard, June 8.

THE MURDER OF JAMES STEVENS.

As soon as Blair took the stand to address the people on Friday noon, he proceeded to make good a threat he was heard to utter an hour or so previous, namely, "he'd be G—d d—m'd if he didn't know before night which party was the strongest." Accordingly he piled up his epithets, called Union men "infamous scoundrels and cowards"—said Radicals would sacrifice every principle for office, and few of them were ever known to fight. He continued his billingsgate and blackguardism, made all the more voluble by frequent potations of strong whiskey, until an old soldier, Wm. Stevens (father of the boy who was afterwards killed), maddened by Blair's villainous tirade, called him a liar. This produced confusion, but Stevens was very soon taken in charge by the town constable, and conducted from the ground.

In the meantime, Blair continued repeating his epithets, and was replied to in the same strain by Samuel Mansel, who was seated directly in front of the stand.

Hereupon Blair turned to one of his lackies on the platform, and appealed to them to "dry that up," when Oliver Williams leaped from the stand and stabbed Mansel in the side and breast; here a friend of Mansel's (not young Stevens, as the *Journal* has it) interfered, and hit Williams over the head with a revolver. A brother of Oliver—S. P., commonly known as Pitt Williams—now hastened to his brother's relief, and with the remark, "let me go for him," leaped from the stand, seized James Stevens, hitherto a quiet spectator, and stabbed him in the breast, inflicting a mortal wound.

That Pitt Williams thought Stevens had assaulted his brother Oliver, is possible, but his well known hatred of the boy gave no curb to his passions, hence his terrible mistake.

The *Journal* intimates that the killing of Stevens was in self-defense, but the facts when brought to light will show that Stevens assaulted no one—was attempting to urge his father from the ground, and while dying, his belt and scabbard, with his pistol therein, was taken from his person, showing no sign of having been disturbed.

Most of the foregoing facts were elicited before the coroner's jury, as any one can see by reference to the evidence.

Since the above was written we learn that Oliver and Pitt Williams have been arrested and admitted to bail, in the sum of $10,000 to wait the action of the Grand Jury.

At a Blair meeting at Warrensburg, on the Pacific railroad, one day last week, two inoffensive and quiet young men—returned soldiers—were stabbed and killed. Before the hour of speaking Blair swore he would know before night which party was the strongest in Johnson county, and it is even hinted that the two young men were killed by his order. From the accounts given of the affair we believe Blair should be arrested and held to answer, as an accessory to the murder. It is time to teach rebels and rebel sympathizers that we have laws, and that they must be obeyed. Frank Blair carries on his skirts the blood of the brave and loyal Gen. McPherson, who was killed by Blair's imbecile acts at Atlanta, and now he adds new stains of loyal blood.—*Southeast Missouri Enterprise*, 16th.

COMMENCEMENT AT LEXINGTON, MASS.

LETTER FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.

Dear Standard: It *was* an *infliction*—as none know better than the writer—to respond to your courteous invitation with *such* a "monogram!" It would have puzzled a Lowell or a Beuvé to invent or to decipher one as blind. But, were you not warned in advance, dear Standard-bearer? And was it not fair to presume from the chirographical fame of more than one of your "well-known correspondents"—whom a "fellow-feeling" shall make nameless, but whose "pot-hooks and trammels" have as often taxed our deepest skill at conjuring, as the sight of the dear old hieroglyphs has warmed our hearts and trimmed our eyes—was it not fair to presume that the traditional imp of your office had, under such experience as his, mastered sufficient *Egyptian* to prove equal to our clearer "copy?" We plead guilty, in this mild, comparative way, to the sin of the dead language. But that he should leave so little life in essential portions, we can only explain by the working "against time," which partially explains the original blindness also, pray let us believe.

To the great public of your readers it may not seem a matter to waste time and type upon. But to those immediately concerned, it does seem desirable, to do justice to your reputation and the writer's common sense. So, indicating, in a word, the mere verbal slips of "thenomonized" for "phenomonized," "degested" for "digested," "summer now flows" for "glows, above us," "public causes" for "feeble causes,"—and the bad French of "fas" for "pas," and "*conte*" for "*coute*," which proves, perhaps, not so great ignorance of French, as imperfect scholarship in Egyptian, as we said—let us correct the most grievous blunders that remain, by substituting "pondering upon this absence, or, this tardiness—there was a hope there,"—for that which implied the absence of some special "three," at the opening session; the sentence "recalling the intentions of the fathers," for "revealing," etc.—and the "unsettled questions" of Gasparin, for the "insulted greatness" of your imaginative typo! So, also—to be properly accurate and just—"the mover," and not "the women,"—who had no right to do so—"withdrew the Hopedale resolutions,"—and Wendell Phillips was left "discoursing," and not "discussing," "most excellent and eloquent theology." As to the "Titan—he is," with its misplaced dash, and all other misplaced, or lacking, points and pauses—and they are not many—since they do not utterly vitiate the sense, we let them pass, volunteering, after the suggestion of another scribbler, a plentiful supply of the raw material, by way of addenda, to be used at the leisure and discretion of the reader—who may *possibly* abound in both these latter beyond the writer and printer!

And now, having sufficiently taxed the amiability of this latter individual, while putting ourselves, as we trust, upon a better footing for both past and future, with his patrons, let us turn to a more agreeable topic, certainly an appropriate sequel to the subject of the last letter—it being nothing less than a vision of the brave young workers who are to fill the places of "our own" when these "pass on." It was in Dr. Lewis's "rose-bud garden of girls,"—not to misapply Tennyson—in the twilight of our early "aurora" that this dream of delight appeared, this vision of the "sweet girl-graduates in their golden hair"—there, where the atmosphere of a robust and unqualified freedom, and the wise sympathy and beautiful magnetism of Theodore D. Weld—fresh, brave, and lofty of soul as ever—work as great marvels in soul development, as the invaluable, sunshiny Dr. in physical. *Literally* marvels, dear Standard, as you would confess, could your eyes have beheld the vision, could your ears have heard the high themes and their treatment.

The occasion was no hackneyed examination, with its poor tests of scholarship, its stereotyped questions and methods, in which the ready-witted guess and give the answers, while the sensitive and patient student blunders under the embarrassments of the occasion. But a closing exhibition and entertainment, in the way of music, compositions, dramatic, and gymnastic performance, to invited guests. Much is made of the drama, in the usual term routine, as a means of mental and moral culture; and the plays performed—in French and German, composed by the pupils—bore testimony to the value of this aid. Nowhere off the stage will you find superior playing, and not often on the stage anything to exceed the gifts and portrayals of some of these. And the aim of the exercise has been, not so much to allot "the characters" to those whose natural gifts and tastes imply a "similarity of type," as the reverse—so strengthening the weak faculty and pruning the exuberent.

In the admirable and fascinating gymnastics, the inventive Doctor is perpetually adding to his aids, until it would seem that no tiniest muscle or fibre can put in a plea of being overlooked, or "left out in the cold." Active, and supreme in all the school routine, and at home in the intellectual domain no less than in the physical, the Doctor has proven himself a master in the realm of education, by his successful union of physical and mental culture. But, how he *revels* in the gymnastics! In the dash, the poise, the keen sight and ready force, the astonishing agility, and power, and *avoirdupois*, developed by them! In the last, not least. For sickly, cellar plants, have no beauty to his philosophic eyes. Beloved as he is, at once a father and a brother among them, his pupils can scarcely realize the length and breadth of the service he has done them, and through them the race and its future. Long life, a multitude of disciples, and an "apostolic succession" of them, to the brave, indefatigable Doctor!

And the dress, dear Standard, the dress, must come in for its share of the success, and its tribute to the good deeds of its *modist*—in the masculine, you see, and not this time a French feminine, *modiste*. How charming, how suitable, how serviceable, how

until taste and judgment are matured, it is a movement to be rejoiced in, as at least foreshadowing the time when American women shall be free enough, and brave enough, to make and follow their own fashions, suited to their own needs and duties, and not import those of a foreign despotism.

But the highest results of this admirable teaching showed themselves in the thought and style of the compositions, many of which would have been remarkable in any such number of older thinkers and writers. Among these were an article on Mrs. Browning, displaying the keenest appreciation of her as poet and reformer; one—which read, unwittingly, by strikingly, like a bit of personal experience—on the high theme, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,"—interpreted, *do* see him, in man, nature, life and its duties, and delights; another by a daughter of Hawthorne, on "Consider the Lilies," whose style shows already the graces and felicities of the father; "After the Conflict," claiming that national and individual gains come only by stern struggle—and "Twilight," which was not sentimental, after the fashion of most such titles at "young ladies' seminaries," but a high, brave statement of its central thought, that when the soul and senses are relieved from the place of outward distractions, the earnest one can touch God's hand, and feel His perfectness round its incompleteness, round its restlessness, His rest, and so find constant renewal in faith, and hope, and courage, under all doubts, and discouragements, and darkness—personal, social, national.

In another vein was a very clever satire upon our National Tailor, under the mask of "A Dream," written in rhyme, and pronounced by a warm-hearted critic, worthy the *Atlantic* and Lowell, which has been secured, it seems, for the benefit of the *Radical*, and its readers, among whom, dear STANDARD, it is to be hoped that you and yours may be numbered, and so may judge for yourselves of the ability of fair young damsels to cope with the history and the questions of our profound, abstruse politics! And to see also, by the favor of the same appreciative editor, the closing essay of the day, on "Individuality," which struck beneath all superficial distinctions of sex and race, to the one basis of natural rights and responsibilities, with an insight and ability surpassed by few of our best statesmen and thinkers.

The lofty tone, the subtle discriminations, the earnest spirituality, and noble idealism of such themes and their treatment, are full of promise and cheer. Thus do Maine and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Indiana and Iowa pledge themselves, in the best blood of their brave young daughters, to the great campaign of the Future. And so shall the Summer noon of that better era come on space. C. M. S.

OUR EASTERN CORRESPONDENCE.

NEWBURYPORT, June 25, 1866.

IN this pleasant town, on the southern bank of the Merrimack, I had the good fortune, a few days ago, to meet those giants of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, William Lloyd Garrison and Hon. George Thompson. It occurred to me that a description of the pleasant festival which called them there would interest your readers.

For seventeen years past it has been the custom of Mr. and Mrs. Ashby, of this city, to give to their friends an annual entertainment, which has now come to be widely known as "The Laurel Party." This is a picnic, held three or four miles up the river in a beautiful pine grove, where grows abundance of the broad-leafed Laurel, *Kalmia latifolia*. The backwardness of the season this year has so retarded the growth of this flower that no blooms were present to greet the "Laurel party." It was th play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out, if we speak according to the letter merely. But, in fact, so many sources of enjoyment were here combined that this deficiency was hardly noticed.

The Ashbys invite their guests not only from Newburyport but from Boston, and the towns and cities between. The programme is for the out-of-town visitors to lunch at the house of their hospitable hosts, then to be conveyed in carriages or boats to the Laurel ground, with such *natives* as join the party, and lastly, to return for tea, before taking the cars tor home. In this case large delegations came from Salem and Lynn, and many from Boston and other places. This year, as last, the transportation was to be by water, a steamer towing a large flat-boat comfortably arranged with seats and shade. The beautiful weather of that day, however (Thursday, June 21st), joined to the high public estimate of the party, brought so many guests that both boats were insufficient, and part were conveyed by land.

The passage up the river was beautiful, the heat of June being tempered by a fresh western breeze, and the eye agreeably entertained by the varied scenery on either bank of the winding river.

Leaving the little village of Salisbury, opposite Newburyport, behind us, we passed under the two-storied Newburyport Bridge, on the top of which run the railroad trains, while teams and carriages pass through the covered way beneath. Just above this, the building of a new bridge is in progress, which, diverging from the railroad line on the Newburyport side, is to cross the river at a different angle, diminishing the curve which the road now makes on its way to Portsmouth. The granite piers which are to support this bridge on either side are now in process of construction. The places of the intermediate piers, in the bed of the river, are designated by groups of piles, driven as close to each other as possible. These are to be sawn off at the bottom, making a firm and level space at the bottom of the river for the foundation stones to be placed. These are to be ultimately adjusted by men sent down in a huge diving-bell. The hope was, I understand, to complete the bridge before next Winter, but that seems hardly feasible.

Going onward, we pass the ship-yards, where some of the best ships of the last half-century have been built, and where several large vessels are now on the stocks — pass beneath the Essex-Merrimack chain-bridge, supported in the middle of the river by a picturesque island, rocky and woody, where those who know the right spots can find beautiful harebells, in their season—pass, on the right, the Po, or Powow River Bridge, which spans the stream at the foot of the hill of the same name, near the home of the poet Whittier, in Amesbury—and reach at last the beautiful wooded hill on the left of the river, on a portion of whose declivity the laurels grow. Large clumps of these beautiful bushes, some of them eight or nine feet high, border a broad avenue winding beneath the pines, and clothe various parts of the steep hill above, and of the pleasantly diversified ground descending to the river. Numerous by-paths wind among these masses of verdure, the bulk of which displays a rich, dark green, each branch topped with the lighter-colored growth of the present year. A week or two hence, these will be crowned with abundant flowers, most of them snowy white, but some with a rosy tinge.

The members of this party, having landed, grouped themselves as affinity or contiguity might decide, and wandered at their own sweet will, or sat on the rocks overhanging the river, or reclined beneath the shade on the carpet of dry pine leaves. In the fulness of time they were called together to partake of an abundant and luxurious dinner, and after this came the inevitable speech-making, a custom which our friend Mr. Garrison declared more honored in the breach than the observance. He did not refuse, however, to comply with the wish of the company, and made a brief address to them when called upon by the presiding officer, Rev. Mr. Fletcher, widely known as a popular lecturer, and a traveller in Brazil and other countries. Many persons spoke, most of them in the lighter strain usual on such festive occasions. Two of them, however, our friend Mr. Thompson and Rev. Mr. Calthrop, recently settled as pastor over the Unitarian church in Newburyport, gave, with this, a judicious mixture of more serious discourse, which received earnest attention and evident approval from their audience. The best speech of the afternoon was Mr. Thompson's, and it was particularly gratifying to me to see the evident impression he made upon some whose ears, before the war, would hardly have been open to hear such truths as he told.

The army was represented among the speakers by a General, a Major and a Captain. Among the other celebrities present were John G. Whittier of Amesbury, and Grace Greenwood of Philadelphia, both of whom spoke a few words under protest, in compliance with the wish of the audience. Our poet of the Merrimack was in excellent health and spirits, and seemed highly to enjoy the occasion. Those who are curious about the personal appearance of eminent men, will be interested in knowing that he now lets his beard grow (save around the mouth), and looks all the better for it. Whittier has in former years repeatedly contributed short poems for the entertainment of the Laurel Party. He brought none on this occasion, but was himself the subject of some laudatory verses, which were read (and supposed to be written) by Abner C. Goodell, Esq., of Salem. These seem to me so much better than the ordinary run of eulogistic rhymes that I send them to you for publication, if you have room for them.

At five o'clock the company reembarked, and a pleasant trip down the river fitly closed an excursion which all seemed to enjoy, and which was marred by no accident or mishap.

You know the copperhead proclivities of the Newburyport *Herald*, and how the daily press of that persuasion in Boston and elsewhere have been wont to copy its false and fallacious statements as damaging concessions made by "an organ of Republicanism" (for such they took care deceitfully to represent it) against its own party. The preference of the *Herald* is for such politics as those of Caleb Cushing and George Lunt, and it fought vigorously for them. But it has no preference for defeat, and likes being in a minority as little as James Gordon Bennett himself, and therefore gave in its adhesion to freedom as better than slavery when it became quite clear that slavery had gone under. The force of habit, however, is strong, and the old venomous spirit of the *Herald* against Abolitionists and their works comes out every now and then. Thus, last week, it took occasion vehemently to oppose the proposal of some members of Congress for a Bureau of Education. It considered such an idea "of course a humbug." Government, it said, "has nothing to do and should have nothing to do with education." A fine doctrine, indeed, for one of the teachers of a nation whose founders established common schools and a college as soon as they had established a government! Considering the fact that the degenerate sons of the Pilgrims have allowed their government, for the last half-century, forcibly to *repress* education among a sixth part of the population it is quite time that active movements should be made in the opposite direction.

I think I cannot occupy your columns to better advantage than by copying in them the very words of this spiteful and mendacious writer, who proceeds to say about education:

> "Let the people of the several States establish systems suited to their own ideas, and let other States keep their hands from them. Still we would raise no objection if the managers of it would only follow Daniel Webster's advice in his 7th of March speech, and 'conquer their prejudices.' By that we mean remove all obstacles to the education of the white children down South. When we have disfranchised the white men of that section and enfranchised our colored brethren, it would be well from our hatred to the unfortunate whites, who are not to blame for having white skins, and our excessive love for those happy in being colored, to stop. Let us not visit the sins of the fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generations, as we seem inclined now to do; for it is a fact that must appear strange to all the rest of the world, and which posterity will regard with wonder, that while we are laboring and paying to educate the blacks, the white children of the South are absolutely neglected by us, regarded as miserable little scavengers, upon whom any sympathy would be wasted. If, therefore, we are ever to be foolish enough to establish an educational department of the national government, let us try to conquer our prejudices, and admit white people to its benefits on an equality with the blacks."

The construction of some of the above sentences is obscure, but their *animus* is plain. Perhaps the writer has ideas as peculiar concerning syntax as concerning morals. At any rate, while thoughts and wishes like the above are from time to time appearing in Northern papers, we need not wonder at the continuance of the like, in full vigor, throughout the South; and we may as well understand that, while such feelings are cherished by a people lately in armed rebellion, a people who boast themselves still unsubdued, a people still bent upon doing by intrigue that for which force no longer serves them—the war is not yet over. We cannot afford in policy, any more than in conscience, to relinquish one of the demands of justice for the loyal blacks of the South.

As to the fear of our coppery friend that the children of the "poor whites" of the South will have no *chance* at that instruction for which the evidence seems to be that they have no *desire*, the magnanimity of the black race will assuredly prevent alike the attempt and the wish for interference against them. They will be freely permitted to sit side by side with the negro children in schools of every grade. Whether they will be as good scholars remains to be seen. NORTH.

TO WHITTIER AT THE "LAURELS,"

JUNE 21, 1866.

"YET once more, O ye laurels," sighed
The bard, in mournful strain,
When, stark, beneath the "whelming tide,"
Lay his lost shepherd swain.

But not, like Milton, do we come
To pluck funereal bays
When on these banks, *our* laurels bloom
In summers halcyon days:—

For *our* loved Lycidas lives on,
And can his syrinx trill
Sweet, as when first at Helicon
He piped it up the hill.

Lives on? oh yes! and reigns supreme
In these warm hearts of ours;
His fame eternal as yon stream,
And glorious as these flowers!

For he long taught us how to win
(In his majestic song)
The victory over self and sin,
Without a truce to wrong.

The humble toiler loves to learn
Contentment from his lay,
And, leant on him, with unconcern,
Age hails life's closing day.

And anxious souls, by doubts oppressed,
Whom wrangling sects annoy,
His "*Tauler*" points to heavenly rest,
And to transcendent joy.

In love unknown to courtly halls
His "*Ranger's*" joys begin,
And "*Maud*" to many a heart, recalls,
Alas! what "might have been."

On all his words, and over all
His pure and home-sought themes,
A fadeless glory seems to fall
Bright with celestial beams.

New England's truth, New England's zeal
His living lines inspire,
And Cowper's faith is joined, in him,
With more than Burns's fire.

Warm from his heart his stanza's roll:
Filled with ambrosial leaven
His measures feed the hungry soul
Like manna dropped from heaven.

Oh, vain to offer him a crown
Who only asks his share
Of all our Father sendeth down
Of human toil and care,—

And vain to seek, in classic strains
And fables old and dim,
A legend which, with rhythmic claims,
May, fitly, hang on him.

But since, on days like this, he will
Thee to these groves pursue,
Laurel! if thou art DAPHNE still,
He is APOLLO, too.

IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

SILAS PEPOON, forwarding his annual subscription for THE STANDARD, writes from Warren, Ill., June 13, 1866:

"Perhaps the American Anti-Slavery Society, and its organ, THE STANDARD, were never more needed than now. We must hold on to this one principle of impartial suffrage, regardless of color, race, or sex. If the President and Congress had been unitedly determined to do the Freedmen simple justice, by securing the exercise of all their rights, especially the right to vote, it would have been easy to have settled the whole business of reconstruction. It would have been like calling five and five ten instead of some other number. Even after Congress had ample evidence of the President's defection, if they had taken a straightforward course in securing the rights of all, the loyal people would have sustained them, notwithstanding the opposition of all the negro-haters North and South. The two great meetings in New York and Boston must have been intensely interesting. As to women's voting, I believe it to be their right, but the necessity for its exercise, compared with the Freedmen, is small; for they are truly represented by their male friends as a general rule, but the Freedmen are represented by their enemies, if represented at all. But when it is proposed by Congress to disfranchise both, by altering the Constitution, I think it is time for all the friends of natural rights to awake and forbid such a flagrant wrong, by a voice that cannot be mistaken."

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

13 CHESTNUT STREET, BOSTON, June 24th, '66.

To the Editor of the Standard.

IT seems there are some errors and omissions in the returns of the "Finance Committee", at our late "New England Anti-Slavery Convention." I have a note from our friend Charles K. Whipple, of yesterday's date, from Newburyport, enclosing a communication from Parker Pillsbury, who says, "I do not know who is responsible for a failure in the 'Finance Committee's' Report at the recent New England Convention. I wrote the name of Rev. Photius Fiske, who paid five dollars, and one or two others (my own included), who paid smaller sums, but they are not in the published Report. I care only for Mr. Fiske and the others who asked me to write their names, which I did, and saw them pay the money. I cannot now recollect which of the Committee passed down our aisle at the Convention."

In answer to this statement of our friend Pillsbury, I can only say, that in the discharge of my duties as President of the Convention, I nominated as a Finance Committee, Nathan B. Spooner, Sallie Holley, Elbridge Sprague, Mary C. Sawyer, and R. B. Ober, five in all; but received from them, through the hands of Mr. Spooner, at the close of the Convention, only three papers or schedules purporting to be their report of monies paid and of persons contributing; but on neither of those papers does the name of either Photius Fiske or Parker Pillsbury appear, showing clearly that there must have been some loss of papers or failure to render them. In corroboration of this I may further state that the amount of money which I actually *received* from Mr. Spooner, was $272 45, while the whole amount reported by names of contributors, as given in by the Committee, was only $209 02, showing a balance of $63 42 in receipts above what was reported or vouched for by names. The original papers containing those names, are now before me. I took great pains in copying them all for publication in your columns, and, though the original record was almost illegible, here and there, written as it was in pencil, I am not aware that there is any mistake, unless by misprint of an initial, as I compare it again with your printed list, which is also before me.

Hoping that this explanation may meet the eyes of those friends and contributors who do not find their names rightly rendered or accredited, and also that the deficits referred to by our friend Pillsbury may be somehow explained by such member of the Finance Committee as may have "*lost a name*" or "*missed a figure*," I am very sincerely yours,

JOHN T. SARGENT.

P. S.—Perhaps Mr. Phillips, into whose hands I passed the balance of money remaining after paying sundry expenses of the Convention, may have some account of missing papers, etc. J. T. S.

THE MILITIA AND COLORED CITIZENS.

DURING the last twelve months enough has occurred throughout the Southern country to show that it is the studied determination of many of the people in the States lately in rebellion, to disarm all colored soldiers discharged from the United States army, and generally to deprive colored persons of their arms and weapons of defence. This is in direct conflict with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which says: That "*the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.*" This fundamental provision is most shamefully violated and set at naught by Kentucky an intensely rebellious State, also by South Carolina, and Mississippi, and Alabama, Florida, Texas and Louisiana. So the Constitution declares that Congress shall have power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States or in any Department or officer thereof." "So Congress possesses the power of organizing, *arming*, and *disciplining* the militia of the nation and of the States, and to govern them according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, reserving to the States respectively the appointments of the officers and the training of the *militia*." Under this proviso Congress can arm every white and colored man in the United States as a militia man in time of peace, and also call them in the service of the United States, "in peace and war, when needed to suppress insurrections, and to repel invasions." "So this Constitution declares, that this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."—Art. 6, Sec. 2.

Now Congress can pass a law making every colored man in the United States a militia man and put arms into his hands and give him the same military *status* as that of white men. By this means he will be able to take care of himself. Such right to bear arms is sanctioned by the Constitution, and against all the laws and judicial decisions of the States to the contrary notwithstanding; and whoever may have this right, such right is to be protected by the Judiciary of the United States and the execution and military power of the nation.—See 5 Cranch Reports, 348. Owings vs. Normands Lessees.

It will be answered that this is hard doctrine for the States. But we reply that the States never were parties to the Constitution of the United States, never ratified it, and cannot repeal it.

The men who made that instrument were more sagacious and patriotic than to submit this Constitution to State authority, who might ratify it this year and pass a law or ordinance to repeal it the next year if once made parties to it.

This Convention submitted their doings direct to the sovereign power of the country. That is the *People*, who were to call conventions and to ratify or reject this instrument. The *People* did ratify this instrument, and the Constitution was ordained and established, not by the States in their political capacities, but emphatically as the preamble declares: By the people of the United States.—1 Wheaton's Reports, 324. Martin vs. Hunter and Lessee.

It required not their affirmance and could not be negatived by the State governments when adopted. It was of complete obligation and bound the State powers to obey it. 4. Wheaton's Reports, 404. McCulbough vs. the State of Maryland.

6. Wheaton's, 414. Coliers vs. Virginia.

2. Dallas Reports, 471. Chilsom vs. Georgia.

The Preamble of the Constitution of the United States says: "We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The United States government is a supreme power, capable of executing its own laws and decrees, and within itself and by itself, of obtaining the objects for which it was created, and by all ways and means which are necessary for its attainment without *State authority* or interference, and any person who resists the United States laws or acts of Congress, is a criminal, and should be punished if convicted on indictment and trial, be he governor, judge, officer, or citizen of any State notwithstanding. HANCOCK.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at his residence, near Quaker Springs, Saratoga County, N. Y., on the 20th inst., ISAAC GRIFFIN, in the seventy-first year of his age.

The deceased was a member of the Society of Friends, and for many years a deeply interested and faithful coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery cause. His interest in this cause was awakened by the *Liberator* on its first appearance, and the earnest appeals of Mr. Garrison met in him a hearty response. He was ever ready to extend a helping hand to every good enterprise, and never allowed himself to be bounded by the narrow limits of sect or party. He was a man of rare personal integrity, of beautiful simplicity of character, an affectionate husband, father and friend.—EDITOR.

LITERARY.

MAGAZINES.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY. July, 1866. Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

"George Dedlow" with which the July number opens is one of the most disagreeable stories ever published in a literary magazine. If the detail of the nervous sensations of a man who has lost his legs and arms has any value, the proper place for them is a medical journal, but the main purpose of this flimsy sketch seems to be to drag in an absurd piece of spiritualism at the end. Maj. Burrage's "Retreat from Lenoir's and the Siege of Knoxville" is another war narrative, well told, and worth telling. "The Physical History of the Valley of the Amazon" is a most delightful and valuable commencement of a new series of papers by Professor Agassiz. The readers of the *Atlantic* are, apparently, to gather the first fruits of the great Naturalist's journey in Brazil.

Goldwin Smith's "Englishman in Normandy" is John Bull all through, intolerant, patronising, nervous, pensive, insolent John Bull, measuring all things with a British yardstick; a habit of which Mr. Goldwin Smith gave us a taste when he was in America. If the *Atlantic* must go to England for its writers it should at least give us a less offensive exhibition of insular pride and prejudice. Mr. Stowe has a *Chimney Corner* filled with good sense on Bodily Religion, meaning especially the duty of breathing pure air and not eating pies and doughnuts. The text is an old one, but it will take many another sermon before Young America makes a practical application of it. Mr. Bryant has a poem on "The Death of Slavery" marked by his well-known sobriety of rhythm and clear force of statement. The "Passages from Hawthorne's Notebook" show this month the marks of an editor's hand, and are the better for it. The book-notice on "Ecce Homo" deserves praise as a cool-headed examination of the real merits of that very sensational book, in which neither genuine scholarship nor genuine earnestness is to found.

Blackwood for May (reprinted by the Scott Publishing Co.) continues the romancing rhodomontade of Hens von Boreke about the "Confederate war for Independence," a legend which the author evidently intends as a sequel to Baron Munchausen's adventures. The following article on "Gipsies" is a good account of Walter Simson's very interesting work on that interesting subject. "The Negro and the Negrophilists" has an opening sentence which will serve to indicate the humane and intelligent point of view from which Toryism approaches the discussion of Emancipation in America. "The two foremost nations in the world are suffering at this moment from a moral malady, which the Americans, with more force than elegance, call 'nigger on the brain.'"

We are indebted, we ought to confess, to this article for the discovery that the *Independent* is edited by the *Rev.* Theodore Tilton. Speaking of the editor of the *Independent* and the *Tribune*, the writer asserts that "if either of these influential editors ventured to carry his preaching into practice so far as to employ a black compositor in his composing rooms, or a black pressman at his printing-presses, the whole of his white workmen would immediately strike work and leave the premises, even though the ruin of their employers might be the result." We will leave the *Independent* to speak for itself, as it is well able to do, but as for Mr. Greeley, we have more than once heard him say that a desk in the *Tribune* office was as freely open to a colored as to a white editor or reporter, provided he were equally competent; and that anybody who objected, was at liberty to go elsewhere. We believe he has said the same thing, substantially, in the columns of his paper. Mr. John Russell Young, the managing editor of the *Tribune*, while he held a similar position on the Philadelphia *Press* employed Mr. Chester, a colored man, as army correspondent, subsequently as reporter in the office. He would do the same thing again.

JEFF. DAVIS'S PRISON LIFE.

The Prison Life of Jefferson Davis by Dr. J. J. Craven, was written by Charles G. Halpine, better known as Miles O'Reilly, whose pen is always ready for employment. The book is "worked up" to a sensation point with great ingenuity, and with much more regard to a Southern market than to historical accuracy. Its nominal author, Dr. Craven, was unfavorably known early in the war, and was indebted for his professional advancement to political influence far more than to his knowledge of surgery. The book is a bad one in its influence, and was meant to create a sympathy for the great traitor such as his situation, and what are called his sufferings do not at all justify.

BOOK PUBLISHING.

A late French writer, M. de Tapies, gives the following tables of literary mortality in his "Statistical Contrast between France and England:" Out of 1,000 published books, 600 never pay the cost of printing, 200 just pay expenses, 100 return a slight profit, and only 100 a substantial gain. Of these 1,000 books, 650 are forgotten by the end of the year, and 150 more at the end of three years; only fifty survive seven years publicity. Of the 50,000 publications put forth in the seventeenth century, hardly more than fifty have an established reputation, and are now republished. Of the 80,000 works published in the eighteenth century, posterity has hardly preserved more than were rescued from oblivion in the seventeenth century. Men have been writing books these three thousand years, and there are hardly more than five hundred writers throughout the globe who have survived the outrages of time and the forgetfulness of man. These views are apparently drawn from French materials, but contain much universal truth. In real live French literature there is scarcely a name previous to Racine and Moliere but Montaigne. It is the chief glory of English letters, that the great minds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still irradiate us with a warm and steady light; Chaucer, Bacon, Hooker, Spencer, Sidney and Raleigh become more and more household words, to say nothing of Shakspeare.

Dr. Furness has translated Schenkel's book on Christ, and it will, probably, be published in the Autumn, with ample notes, such as will make an octavo volume of great value to scholars and the public. Schenkel wears the mantle of Schleirmacher in Germany, and his "Characterbild" is one of the most memorable portions of the whole Renan and Strauss controversy.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* states: "Professor Goldwin Smith will resign the Chair of Modern History at Oxford at the end of this academical year. The Professorship is stated to be worth upwards of £600 per annum. The Professorship of Poetry at Oxford will also shortly become vacant by the expiration of Mr. Matthew Arnold's term of office. Several names have been mentioned in connection with the Professorship, the value of which is £150 per annum. Mr. Arnold was elected in 1857, and re-elected in 1862."

The Boston Public Library contains 123,000 volumes. Its largest contributors are Joshua Bates, of London, who gave $100,000 worth of books, and Theodore Parker, who left 11,000 books and 3,000 pamphlets. In 1865 nearly 195,000 books were lent, or an average of 708 per day.

A biography of John Leech, so long the leading illustrator of *Punch*, is to be written by Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, author of "Rab and his Friends."

It is not known by everyone that a successful song is about as good a literary property as it is possible to have. A popular comic song, such as "Vilikins and his Dinah" and the "Rat-catcher's Daughter" of the past, or "Kafoozleum" of the present, are actual fortunes to their proprietors. These remarks occur to us, says the (London) *Reader*, in announcing the advent of a "*Chanson bouffe*," which will probably exceed in popularity any that has been written of late years. The title will be "How cold it is!" and the melody is one of the most ear-tickling that has appeared for a considerable period.

Previous to the revolution of 1688 our American colonies had no printing press, and "The Statutes at Large" of New York were published in MS. only. Mr. G. H. Moore, the Librarian of the New York Historical Society, proposes to print an edition of them by subscription.

The nephew of Washington Irving, Mr Pierre M. Irving, is preparing for publication "The Inedited Works of Washington Irving, including his Contributions to the 'Analectic Magazine,' of which, for a time, he was the Editor."

Mr. J. H. Turnbull, of Hatford, U. S., is to edit "The Indian Key" for the Narragansett Club, in the introduction and notes to which he will give the result of two years' careful research into the early aboriginal languages and literature of North America.

ART ITEMS.

The Boston *Journal* says that the statue of Hon. Edward Everett has been completed in clay by Mr. Story, and that it will be ready for dedication in May. It is to be cast in Bronze at Munich, but should the impending war prove of long continuance the arrangements now made may possibly be interfered with. The Committee having sufficient funds have also given to Thos. Ball, Esq., now in Italy, an order for a bust in marble of Mr. Everett, which will be placed in the Public Library. The statue by Story is highly spoken of by those abroad who have seen it, and flattering letters of its faithfulness to the original have been received.

In an extended and highly flattering notice of Mr. Bierstadt's picture of the Rocky Mountains, now on exhibition in London, the London Daily *News* says: "The American landscape painters are decidedly taking the lead in the direction of large pictures of their own magnificent mountain scenery. Some years ago there were exhibited in London Mr. Church's very original and powerfully-painted pictures of the scenery in the Andes and of Niagara Falls; last season we had the very interesting pictures of the scenery about the great volcanic mountains Chimborazo; and now we have perhaps a more finished and masterly example of American landscape art in the large picture by Mr. Albert Bierstadt, which is exhibited at Mr. Maclean's gallery in the Haymarket."

Gen. Santa Anna is negotiating for the equestrian portrait of Gen. Scott, painted by Troyes, by resolution of the Senate of Virginia.

At the French Gallery, Pall Mall, is now again exhibited Mr. Holman Hunt's picture, "Our Saviour in the Temple." Having been painted for several years, and the pigments thoroughly set, the work has been varnished, by which process the extraordinary brilliancy of the coloring, elaboration and soundness of the execution are displayed to great advantage.

WASHINGTON AND CONGRESS.

WEDNESDAY, June 22, the House passed a bill to increase the pensions of widows and orphans—adding altogether about $6,000,000 to the $16,000,000 we now pay annually. Mr. Washburne moved an amendment to the Paris Exposition bill that the act shall not take effect till the French troops shall have been withdrawn from Mexico; which was rejected 33 to 63.—The Senate voted to fix the tax on cotton at two cents a pound, which is three less than the House made it. Probably there will be a compromise. Thursday the Senate adopted an amendment to the Tax bill, allowing gas, railway, and steamboat companies to charge their taxes to their customers—in other words, relieving their wealthy monopolies of their fair share of the public burden.—The House passed Gen. Schenck's Army bill, a summary of which we published last week. Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, got an amendment through abolishing all distinctions between white and colored regiments in respect to the promotion of officers.—Friday the Senate spent most of its time on the Tax bill, making numerous and important amendments, and adding largely to the Free List—among other things chronometers, safes, looms, pumps, steam-engines, sewing-machines, wines, and rubber-springs for cars, and the House list kept intact. Distilling without a license is to pay double taxes; the distiller is liable to imprisonment for two years, and his property will be confiscated. Very elaborate precautions are taken against frauds and impertect returns.—The House directed an inquiry into violations of the Test Oath, which is a very large field for investigation.—A proposition to grant pensions to soldiers of 1812 was reported on adversely, Mr. Perham showing that there would be 100,000 claimants, and that the measure would require $10,000,000 annually.—The report of the Assistant Commissioner of Freedmen's Affairs in Arkansas, Missouri, and the Indian Territory, for the month of May, states that the number of rations issued to refugees in the month of April was 42,742 to 2,202 refugees, at a cost of $5,049.49, and that 6,919 rations were issued to 393 freedmen at a cost of $1,882.17. In the month of May, 65,375 rations were issued to 3,053 refugees at a cost of $8,273.88, and 9,965 rations were issued to 536 freedmen, at a cost of $1,270.52.—The President sent in an impertinent message announcing that he did not approve the Constitutional Amendment. As it had not been presented for his approval, and does not require it, the expression of Mr. Johnson's opinion was as uncalled for as it was dictatorial and offensive in tone. Mr. Seward has transmitted the resolution to the Executives of the States. In the Senate and House on Saturday, the death of James Humphrey, Representative from the Third District of New York, was announced, and resolutions of respect were passed, and addresses delivered.—Mr. Seward has been spoiling good blank paper by printing another batch of his interminable diplomatic correspondence. Mr. Adams in one letter writes to Mr. Seward that he would be content if Jefferson Davis could be disgraced and then suffered to sink into oblivion, to which Mr. Seward responds, "Your sentiments are deemed just and wise." That means simply that the government never had any purpose of trying Davis, and have kept him in prison because they don't know what to do with him.—Monday the Senate passed the Tax bill.—The House agreed to the Senate amendment to the Army Appropriation bill, giving $6,926,400 to the Freedmen's Bureau for expenses. The National Johnson Club issued their call for a National Convention at Philadelphia on the 14th of August. The call is signed by such renegade Republicans as Cowan and Doolittle, and such Copperheads as Hendricks of Indiana, and is meant to organize a national Johnson party. It is quite time these men avowed their apostasy, and showed their true colors.—The Senate on Tuesday passed the new Freedmen's Bureau bill with Wilson's bad amendment giving up the land belonging to the negroes on the Sea Islands to rebel claimants. We earnestly hope the House will adhere to its plan, which forbids the surrender, and recognizes the obligation of the government to keep its promise to the freedmen.

Special Notices.

MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER will give a lecture in Newtown Hall, Bucks county, Pa., on First day (Sunday), July 1st, at 3½ p.m. Subject, "National Progress." She will also speak on Buckingham Mountain, near the colored Methodist church, July 7th, at 5 p.m. Guests are invited to bring their baskets provisioned.

THE STANDARD IN PHILADELPHIA.—T. B. PUGH, corner of Sixth and Chestnut streets, has THE STANDARD for sale. BENJAMIN C. BACON, at the office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, will supply specimen copies, and receive and forward new subscriptions for THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD IN BOSTON.—JOHN J. DYER & CO., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for THE STANDARD, and supply single copies to such as desire.

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THOSE desiring information in regard to the next session of Medical Lectures for women, please address Mrs. C. S. Lozier, M. D., or Mrs. Mrs. M. A. Densmore, M. D., 361 West 34th street, N. Y., or Mrs. C. F. Wells, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.—All Colored Soldiers, their widows, or heirs, are requested to call at this office without delay, U. S. ARMY AGENCY,
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CARHART & NEEDHAM,

ESTABLISHED 1846,

Are the oldest manufacturers of improved Reed Instruments in the United States, and are the inventors and patentees of the essential improvements made in this class of instruments up to the present date.

During this long period they have manufactured a vast number of instruments of all styles; AND WHEREVER THEY HAVE BEEN EXHIBITED IN COMPETITION WITH THE INSTRUMENTS OF OTHER MAKERS, THEY HAVE INVARIABLY TAKEN THE HIGHEST PREMIUM.

THE LAST TRIUMPH OF CARHART & NEEDHAM.

At the Fair of the American Institute held in New York in 1865, Carhart & Needham received the *Special Gold Medal* over all other reed instruments in competition. The judges were Dr. Wm. Berge, C. B. Seymour (critic of the N. Y. Times), Thomas Appleton, organ builder of Boston, George Gardine, organ builder of New York, and Dr. E. Ringer, an expert.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVERAL REPORTS OF THE JUDGES:

From report of Dr. Wm. Berge.

"The quality of the tone is the best I have ever heard; and the number of stops surpassed my expectations. The delicacy of *touch* and the quickness of *speech* are remarkable. I consider the Parlor Organ of Carhart & Needham to be the best on exhibition, and entitled to the highest award of the Institute."

From the report of C. B. Seymour.

"The undersigned thinks it proper to suggest that Carhart & Needham should receive a Special First Premium for their large Parlor Organ."

From report of Thomas Appleton.

"No. 526 is the best for, 1st, It contains more reeds and of greater variety than any other. 2d. The reeds are placed above the key-board, thereby allowing a greater volume of sound to be heard. 3, The successful application of the swell which makes this instrument resemble the church organ more nearly than any previous arrangement. 4th, The voicing of the reeds is remarkable, and in the smoothness and quality of tone they resemble pipes more than reeds. *The instrument is undoubtedly superior to any ever before constructed with reeds.*"

From the report of George Jardine.

"Carhart & Needham were the first in the world to discover and demonstrate that vibrating tongues or reeds can descend lower in the bass with the very finest quality of tone, rich, round and full, of quick articulation and free from *windiness*, right down to the 32 feet tone of C. C. CC."

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From Watson's Weekly Art Journal.

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"I have found them to be the *finest instrument of the class I ever saw.*"

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"They are entitled to be ranked as the *first* and *best* among instruments of their class."

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"*The tone is incomparable*, and they are *far in advance* of any other instrument of a similar kind."

CHARLES FRADEL.

CARHART & NEEDHAM

manufacture and are prepared to supply promptly, REED ORGANS of every style, for Parlors, Libraries, Halls, Churches, Schools, and Lodge Rooms. Gold Medal Illustrated Catalogues sent free.

WAREROOMS
No. 97 East 23d Street.

MARVIN'S PATENT

ALUM AND DRY PLASTER FIRE

Miscellaneous Department.

THE DEATH OF SLAVERY.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

O Thou great Wrong, that through the slow-paced years,
Didst hold thy millions fettered, and didst wield
The scourge that drove the laborer to the field,
And look with stony eye on human tears,
Thy cruel reign is o'er;
Thy bondmen crouch no more
In terror at the menace of thine eye;
For he who marks the bounds of guilty power,
Long-suffering, hath heard the captive's cry,
And touched his shackles at the appointed hour,
And lo! they fall, and he whose limbs they galled
Stands in his native manhood disenthralled.

A shout of joy from the redeemed is sent;
Ten thousand hamlets swell the hymn of thanks;
Our rivers roll exulting, and their banks
Send up hosannas to the firmament.
Fields, where the bondman's toil
No more shall trench the soil,
Seem now to bask in a serener day;
The meadow-birds sing sweeter, and the airs
Of Heaven with more caressing softness play,
Welcoming man to liberty like theirs.
A glory clothes the land from sea to sea,
For the great land and all its coasts are free.

Within that land wert thou enthroned of late,
And they by whom the nation's laws were made,
And they who filled its judgment-seats, obeyed
Thy mandate, rigid as the will of fate.
Fierce men at thy right hand,
With gesture of command,
Gave forth the word that none might dare gainsay;
And grave and reverend ones, who loved thee not,
Shrank from thy presence, and in blank dismay,
Choked down, unuttered, the rebellious thought;
While meaner cowards, mingled with thy train,
Proved, from the book of God, thy right to reign.

Great as thou wert, and feared from shore to shore,
The wrath of God o'ertook thee in thy pride;
Thou sitt'st a ghastly shadow; by thy side
Thy once strong arms hang nerveless evermore.
And they who quailed but now
Before thy lowering brow
Devote thy memory to scorn and shame,
And scoff at the pale, powerless thing thou art.
And they who ruled in thine imperial name,
Subdued, and standing sullenly apart,
Scowl at the hands that overthrew thy reign,
And shattered at a blow the prisoner's chain.
Well was thy doom deserved; thou didst not spare
Life's tenderest ties, but cruelly didst part
Husband and wife, and from the mother's heart
Didst wrest her children, deaf to shriek and prayer:
Thy inner lair became
The haunt of guilty shame;
Thy lash dropped blood; the murderer, at thy side,
Showed his red hands, nor feared the vengeance due.
Thou didst sow earth with crimes, and, far and wide,
A harvest of uncounted miseries grew,
Until the measure of thy sins at last
Was full, and then the avenging bolt was cast.

Go then, accursed of God, and take thy place
With baleful memories of the elder time,
With many a wasting pest, and nameless crime,
And bloody war that thinned the human race;
With the Black Death, whose way
Through wailing cities lay,
Worship of Moloch, tyrannies that built
The Pyramids, and cruel creeds that taught
To avenge a fancied guilt by deeper guilt—
Death at the stake to those that held them not.
Lo, the foul phantoms, silent in the gloom
Of the flown ages, part to yield thee room.

I see the better years that hasten by,
Carry thee back into that shadowy past,
Where, in the dusty spaces, void and vast,
The graves of those whom thou hast murdered lie.
The slave-pen through whose door
Thy victims pass no more,
Is there, and there shall the grim block remain
At which the slave was sold; while at thy feet
Scourges and engines of restraint and pain
Molder and rust by thine eternal seat.
There, 'mid the symbols that proclaim thy crimes,
Dwell thou, a warning to the coming times.

—*Atlantic for July.*

LITERARY MATTERS IN GERMANY.

Correspondence of the Boston Transcript.

LEIPSIC, May 24, 1866.

THE most celebrated scholar in Europe would, I suppose, be generally conceded to be Professor Tischendorf of Leipsic. I have had occasion to visit him, to ascertain some facts connected with his discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript of the Bible, and may be able to gratify the curiosity of your readers with reference to his personal appearance. In the first place, because the thing which struck me the most forcibly, this man, who has for many years been regarded as the greatest living Greek scholar and judge of ancient manuscripts, is not an old man. Indeed he can be hardly above forty-five. His whole manner is fresh and vigorous, his tones earnest, and he is as approachable as the simplest child. He is so used to being talked about as the "eminent Tischendorf," that he accepts his position as a matter of course, and so has not a trace of that vanity which, in a man struggling to seem great, is so obnoxious. He is large and solidly built, and has the appearance of being in perfect health. Never did I see a man having less the appearance of being a dyspeptic bookworm. He is perfectly enthusiastic in all that relates to his studies, and carries about with him that key to this profound German scholarship—absolute absorption in his work, to the neglect of all that is going on around him in the world. It is well that there are such men—for without them how could we reach the new and valuable results which they bring to light? But it is German soil which is most prolific in them, and in the United States they would starve.

Tischendorf, after giving me the particulars which I wanted, related to me in a very pleasant, off-hand, racy way, the story of his recovery of the famous Sinaitic manuscript of the Bible, which is about fifteen hundred years old. He saw some fragments of it at the time of his first visit to the Convent at Mt. Sinai, in 1844. On his recent visit, when he went amply supplied by the Saxon government with means for purchasing it, he could not find a trace of it; and when, on the occasion of his third visit, about seven years ago, he went out as the special agent of the Russian Emperor, he was for a long time equally unsuccessful. At last, when he was about to abandon the search, the precious relic was discovered in a corner of the cellar, and was committed to his hands to be taken to Russia. The secret charm exerted in this case was due not so much to the influence of Russian gold, as to the fact that the established church of that empire is of the Greek faith, the same as that of the Sinaitic Convent. Tischendorf told me that he was hardly able to command himself when he made this discovery. He went instantly to his room; but that night he could neither lie down nor sleep, and so, to work off his excitement, he spent the night in transcribing the whole of one of the Epistles. His reception on his return was such a one as princes show to princes. The occasion was one of great solemnity and magnificence at St. Petersburg; for it was recognized, not only there, but all over the civilized world, that the discovery of this manuscript is the most important event of the age, looked at in connection with the authenticity of the New Testament and the whole Biblical record. The original was photographed with the utmost care, and copies were sent to the leading libraries of the world. I know not how many are in the United States, but to my certain knowledge there is one in New York.

Prof. Tischendorf's last work is one of a popular character, and yet it has proved a perfect success. Shortly after Renan's book, and the new edition of Strauss, came out, the Leipsic scholar, taking up the matter not as a sentimental thing, but as an affair requiring the finest and most thorough scholarship, sat down and wrote a little pamphlet of some hundred pages, entitled "When were the Gospels written?" It was published, and its success has been unparalleled. Seventeen editions have already been sold in Germany, and the author is now revising it thoroughly for the eighteenth. It has been translated into the Prussian, Danish, Finnish, Spanish and English languages, by two separate persons into French, and by a Cardinal into Italian, under the sanction of the Pope. The latter fact is the more significant inasmuch as this is the very first instance that the work of a heretic has had the papal sanction. Prof. Tischendorf asked me to propose a translation for England of the new edition, as it will contain important changes from the one circulated there, which, too, came from the hand of an American, Prof. Day of Yale College, and formerly of Lane Seminary.

Prof. Tischendorf does not converse in English, but expresses himself as entirely at home in French and Italian as well as his native German. He reads our language, however, and is in constant reception of letters from the most distinguished men of England. These he answers in French, and whenever he goes to England, and has occasion to address any of the learned societies of which he is a member, he does so either in Latin or French.

I have taken advantage of my stay in Leipsic to make some inquiries into the extent of the book business here, the most important single element of the trade of this place. Everybody knows that Leipsic is one vast bookstore, but few would believe that the traffic can be conducted in the entirely quiet way in which it is. No place exhibits less books than this. Walking along the streets, it is true you see on almost every block the name Buchandlung in unobtrusive letters, but very rarely any display of publications in the shop-windows. In company with an English friend I called at one of the largest houses to procure a work published there. We went up a narrow and dark flight of stairs, at the top of which was a locked door. In this was a small window, as large as a small pane of glass, and through this opening we gave our order and soon received the book wanted. I had occasion to go to the house of Tauchnitz, known to all the world by his collection of British authors. We went through an arch into a large court, and, after inquiring of a cook in a white cloth cap, we were directed to a flight of stairs, at one side of which were the words, in letters not more than two inches high, "Tauchnitz, up one flight of stairs." We went up, and came into the most quiet of offices, where three or four clerks were writing. One or two copies of their publications were on the counter, but that was the only sign of a bookstore that we perceived. Mr. Tauchnitz instantly came in and answered my questions. He preferred to speak English rather than German, although he is by no means a master of our tongue. He is a tall, fine-looking man, and made everything of Mr. Phillips, whom all persons who used to trade at the house of Phillips & Samson will remember.

It is just so with all the great houses of Leipsic. Even Brockhaus's establishment, the largest book-publishing house in the world, makes no show of its greatness, and although in the double square which its buildings compass it is impossible to conceal the extent of the premises, still there is not the faintest approach to the splendor of the marble palaces of Harper, Appletons and Lippincott. Brockhaus's is the only instance in the world, so far as I know, of a house which is complete in itself. He even goes so far as to cast his own types and to manufacture his own machinery.

He publishes all kinds of books, and such is his knowledge of the trade that almost everything with his name upon it has a good sale. The greatest undertaking which he is now carrying on is the new edition of the Conversations Lexicon, a work which even takes precedence of the American Cyclopedia. Brockhaus has an immense antiquarian department, a retail department—embracing in English books alone an assortment larger than many of the London or New York shops, an engraving department for both maps and pictures, a school-book department, and one of miscellaneous literature, excluding not a single class of works which are in popular demand. The whole business has grown up during more than a half a century, and is now so thoroughly organized as to almost manage itself. The founder is not living, and a Brockhaus of the third generation is now beginning to take the business into his own hands, although the son of the founder, has not relinquished the nominal control of the establishment.

But I see that my space will not permit me to enter, as I intended, into an account of the manner in which the book business of Leipzic is transacted. I must reserve that subject, as it is one which I have looked into with some care, for a future letter. AGINDOS.

TWO HUNDRED POUNDS.

THE following, from the life of Johnson, is striking. Sir John Hawkins, who, though he may not compete with Boswell as a biographer, was chosen by Johnson as his executor in preference to Boswell, was first a successful solicitor, next an active and experienced magistrate, and knew the world much and widely. Had he come down to us only as the active and useful Chairman of Quarter Sessions, the following extract would have been often quoted and well known. But as coming from an author who could not write a biography so well as Boswell, nor a history of music so well as Burney—which is all we know of Sir John Hawkins—it is quite forgotten:—"The chances [of eluding conviction] are these: 1. That the offender is not discovered, or, if discovered, not apprehended. 2. That the person injured is not both willing and able to prosecute him. 3. That the evidence is not sufficient for the finding of the bill, or if it be, 4. That the indictment is so framed as that the offender cannot be convicted on it; or, 5. That the witnesses to support it may die, or be prevailed upon to abscond, or to soften their testimony; or, 6. They may be entangled or made to contradict themselves, or each other, in a cross-examination by the prisoner's counsel; or, 7. A mild judge; or, 8. An ignorant or perverse jury; 9. A recommendation to mercy; or, 10. Appeals to the public by states of his case in pamphlets, or newspaper paragraphs, which the Newgate solicitors know very well how to get drawn. 11. Practices with a jury to obtain a declaration that some of them were dissatisfied with the verdict. 12. A motion in arrest of judgment. 13. A writ of error grounded on some defect or mistake on the face of the record. 14. An escape; and lastly, interest to procure a pardon. [What follows is a note on the last word.] To this purpose, and as a caveat against seeking redress for injuries by going to law, I recollect a saying of a very sagacious and experienced citizen, Mr. Selwin, who was formerly a candidate for the office of chamberlain, and missed it only by seven votes out of near seven thousand:—'A man,' says he, 'who deliberates about going to law, should have, first, a good cause; secondly, a good purse; thirdly, an honest and skilful attorney; fourthly, good evidence; fifthly, able counsel; sixthly, an upright judge; seventhly, an intelligent jury; and with all these on his side, if he has not, eighthly, good luck, it is odds but he miscarries in his suit.' The same person told me the following story: He was once requested by a man under sentence of death in Newgate, to come and see him in his cell; and, in pure humanity, he made him a visit. The man briefly informed him that he had been tried and convicted of felony, and was in daily expectation of the arrival of the warrant for his execution; 'but,' said he, 'I have £200, and you are a man of character, and had the court-interest when you stood for chamberlain; I should therefore hope it is in your power to get me off.' Mr. Selwin was struck with so strange an application, and to account for it asked if there were any alleviating circumstances in his case; the man peevishly answered, No—but that he had inquired into the history of the place where he was, and *could not find that any one who had two hundred pounds was ever hanged.* Mr. Selwin told him it was out of his power to help him, and bade him farewell—'which,' added he, 'he did;' for he found means to escape punishment."—We all know that publications of the class of "Jonathan Wild," "The Beggars' Opera," etc., throw out more than hints of such a state of things as above described. These hints are neglected; but we may begin to pay more respect to them when we find them backed by such stories from a Quarter-Sessions Judge.—*Athenæum.*

DR. H. S. PLUMMER, Surgeon of the 152d Illinois Volunteers, stationed at Tullahoma, Tennessee, under date the 19th of June, furnishes to the *Medical and Surgical Reporter* the following account of an attack on that regiment by lightning:—"Our regiment was yesterday the scene of one of the most terrible calamities which it has ever been my lot to witness. About two o'clock, p.m., a violent thunder-storm visited us. It being the Sabbath, the 'guard mounting' was deferred until two o'clock on account of the morning being occupied in grand review. While the old guard was being turned out to receive the new, a blinding flash of lightning was seen, accompanied instantly by a terrific peal of thunder. The whole of the old guard, together with part of the new, were thrown violently to the earth. The shock was so severe and sudden that in most cases the rear rank men were thrown across the front rank men. One man was instantly killed, and thirty-two others were more or less severely burnt by the electric fluid. The men were mostly injured in the region of the shoulders, arms, and hips, the men having been standing at shoulder-arms, in which case the barrel of the musket would rest in the hollow of the right arm and shoulder, the butt of the piece resting against the hip. One man who was on guard in front of the hospital tent had his musket thrown from his hands, and the bayonet stuck into the ground. The man himself was shocked pretty severely, but not thrown down. One man who had been to the rear and was returning, was struck down and severely injured in the eyes. In some instances the men's boots and shoes were torn from their feet and torn to pieces, and, strange as it may appear, the men were injured but little in the feet. In all the cases the burns appear as if they had been caused by scalding hot water, in many instances the skin being shrivelled and torn off. The men all seem to be doing well, and a part of them will be able to resume their duties in a few days."—*New York Army and Navy Journal.*

SUMMER.

BY AUBREY DE VERE.

Pleasant the swarm about the bough;
The meadow-whisper round the woods;
And for their coolness pleasant now
The murmur of the falling floods.

Pleasant beneath the thorn to lie,
And let a summer fancy loose;
To hear the cuckoo's double cry,
To make the noontide sloth's excuse.

Panting, but pleased, the cattle stand,
Knee-deep in water weed and sedge
And scarcely crop the greener band
Of osiers round the river's edge.

But hark! Far off the south wind sweeps
The golden-foliaged groves among,
Renewed or lulled, with rests and leaps—
Ah! how it makes the spirit long

To drop its earthly weight, and drift
Like yon white cloud, on pinions free,
Beyond that mountain's purple rift,
And o'er that scintillating sea!

NASBY.

MR. NASBY, THOUGH NOT TWO MAJOR GENERALS, REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE WORKINGS OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, ETC.

(Written for the Toledo Blade.)

CONFEDERIT X ROADS, (which is in the Stait uv Kentucky,) May 27, 1866.

To His Eggslency, the Dispenser uv Post Orfices, Androo Johnson, President uv the United States:

IN akordance with your esteemed request, dated the 25th and received this morning, I to wunst proceeded to make doo enquiry ez to the workin uv the Freedmen's Burow and the condishun uv the Afrikin citizen uv Amerikin descent in this vicinity. The fact that a Abalishinist still holds the Post Orfice at the Corners, (which place, by the way, I hev been solicited to accept,) interfered materially with the bizines I bed in hand. I to wunst tooted the horn, ez is the custom when we hev religious servis, and called my congregashun together. They kum runnin in from the different groceries, and here another difficulty ensood. The grosery keepers wanted to know what we wuz a goin to hev meetin on week days for? They wuz willin to shut up doorin meetin time on Sundays, ez they respected the church, and it give em time to sweep out the terbacker, et settery, but they'd be d—d ef they wuz agoin to hev the people pulled away from their nourishment on week days. I succeeded in passifyin em and went in at wunst examinin the leadin citizens. Their testimony is ez follows:

CAPTIN SKEPER

wuz a nigger owner afore the war, and durin the late fratrisidle struggle wuz a captin in the confedrit servis. Wuz with Ginral Forest at Fort Pillow. Hez had much experence with niggers. Bleeves em to be adapted to the climit of Kentucky, and much more able to stand the hot sun than the whites. When they wuz slaves never knowd em to refooze to work—know they alluz did work becoz he generally stood over em with a nigger whip. Since they hev bin free hez notist a chaunge; not much uv a change, ontil the Nigger Burow wuz establisht. Before that they'd take sich wages ez yoo chose to give em—since then the d—d heathen will stand out bout ez the white men do, and wont work at all onless yoo meet their views, which made a heap of trouble and materially retarded the development uv the country. The Burow hed corrupted the female niggers, ez they had all bin legally married by the Chaplins to the men they'd lived with, and wuz so sot on livin with em that there's no yoose uv yoor tryin to get a house wench unless yoo took her husband also. Hiz wife wuz now doin degradin work at home for want uv help. Strongly urged the abrogashen uv the Burow, and the removal uv the Abolishun Postmaster at the Corners.

DEACON MCGRATH

wuz eggsamined. Wuz convinst in his own mind that the Afrikin wuz now out uv his normal speer, and that the infernal Burow wuz at the bottom uv it. The nigger, afore the Burow come around, wuz docile and easly controlled. His boy Joe wuz wunst a model nigger. He'd get up every mornin at 4 a.m. (wich means in the mornin,) and work every day till after dark. Ez soon ez he wuz emancipated, ez they called it, and the Burow come, I told him to get up one mornin, and he told me impudently that he'd concluded he wooden't. I undertook to chastise him with a fence stake, whereupon he sailed in and whaled me, and the Burow to which I applied for redress larft in my face. He left, and is now dragging out a miserable existence in Ohio, on the beggarly pittance uv two dollars a day, and my farm is running to weeds. He conclooded by giving it ez his solemn opinion that he never cood be reconciled to the government so long ez the Burow was tolerated, and that Ablishnist held the post Orfis at the Corners.

GINERAL DINGES

considered the Burow a inkubus upon the State. It interfered between master and servant. Cood git along better ef the nigger wuz left to the nateral laws wich regulates capital and labor. Tried to keep his niggers, and did keep em the past summer till after the crop wuz in, and then tried to settle with em for four dollars a month, with sich deductions for sickness and brakin tools et settry, as wuz just. Brought the niggers all uv em in my debt, and generously proposed to let em work it out choppin cord wood doorin the winter. Hauled me up afore the Burow and wuz forst to pay em each $15 per month. Consider the Burow ez all that stands in the way uv rekonstruction, though the removal uv the Ablishun Postmaster at the Corners and the appointment uv a sound constooshnel Dimekrat wood greatly assist in conciliatin the Kentucky mind.

I tried to get some nigger testimony but cood elicit nothin worth while. One nigger who spends the heft uv his time at the Corners wuz opposed to the Burow becoz it stopt rations on him, and Lucy, a octoroon, who formerly belonged to and still resides with Elder Gayitt. (who is now absent ez a delegate to a southern religions convention at Louisville) testified that the Burow "wuz no grate shakes" becoz bein ez the Elder wuz a widower and the father uv all her children, and bein she's a free woman, she askt the agent to make the Elder mary her, end he wouldn't do it. But sich evidence is irrelevant, and I didn't consider it worth while to bother yoor Eggslency with it. Both, however, strongly insisted on the removal uv the Ablishun Postmaster at the Corners.

ABSALUM PETTUS

wuz convinst the Burow wuz agin the prosperity uv the State and wuz underminin the moral and physicle welfare uv the nigger. It made him impudent. Hed sum uv em workin for him and notist at noons and nites he'd find em with a spellin book and a reader. Didn't bleeve in readin. Coodent read hisself, but hed a cousin wunst who learned, but ez soon ez he cood read he moved off to Injeanny, quit the Democrisy, and becum a loathsum Ablishnist. Heerd he wuz killed in the war, and served him rite. Wanted to know what we wood do when the niggers could all read. Sposed we'd hev to 'lect em to offis, ez the people alluz selected sich when they cood find em. Didn't bleeve in nigger equality and wuz in favor uv a immediate change in the post orfice at the Corners.

Captin McSlather thought things hed cum to a sweet old pass when a man coodnt lather a nigger without bein hauled up afore a Burow.

Kurnel Pelter thought ef yoor Eggsolency cood witness the corrupshun that eggsisted in the Burow yood make short work uv it. Why, he whipped a nigger hand more than he ought, perhaps, and he died uv the injuries. It wuz a aggravatin case. The nigger wuz sassy, and it cost three hundred and sixteen dollars to pervide for his family. That infamous Burow made me pay for their rashens all winter. He asked indignantly ef this wuz not a free kentry into wich such things wuz permitted. And the Ablishen Postmaster at the Corners approved the tyranikle action. He demanded his removal.

I conceive it to be onnecessary to submit further testimony. I know not what luck yoor other commissioners may hev met with in takin testimony on this subjick, but in this vicinity there can't be no doubt that there can't be that love for the government without which free instooshens won't flourish to any alarmin' extent ontil this monster is squelched. The testimony is unanimous, and them ez I hev eggsamined, are representative men.

You may hev notist also the singler unanimity with which they all bore testimony to the necessity uv a change in the Post Orfis at the Corners. I endorse all they say on this question, considerin that that change is ez necessary in the grate work uv pacifyin' and consiliation ez is the removal of the Burow. In case a change is made I would say for your guidance that I hev been warmly solicited by my friends to accept the position, and to pacify em hev at last yielded a reluctant consent. The fact that I never served in the Confederate army may be an objection, but to offset that I voted for Vallandygum twice.

Ef possible send me a pardon at the same time yoo send me my commission ez Post Master, for if the Post Offis don't pay I may want to run for some other office, in wich event that document would be essential to my success.

With sentiments uv the most profound respek I am trooly yours,

PETROLEUM V. NASBY,

Late Pastor of the Church of the New Dispensashun.

A PRACTICAL PROTEST.

A CURIOUS incident lately occurred in England of what is called a return to the old constitutional form of protesting against an alleged usurpation. It seems that Earl Brownlow has lately fenced in a large piece of land known as Berkhamstead Common, adjacent to his estate of Ashstead Park, which he claims as belonging to him, but which has long been considered as public property. The neighbors determined to test his lordship's right to this course in a very practical way, and Mr. Augustus Smith, acting in concert with the rest, chartered a special train from London, and engaged over a hundred workmen who left the metropolis after midnight on an errand which was kept a secret from them. We condense from the *Daily News* an account of what followed, premising that the tract of land referred to was two miles in length and from three-quarters of a mile to a mile and a-half wide:

"One carriage was devoted to stout tools and implements, and the train, thus freighted, reached Tring at 1:30 in the morning. A procession was formed at the station—each man shouldering a crowbar or other implement—and a compact phalanx, one hundred and twenty strong, marched out, two and two, into the moonlight. A walk of three miles brought them to the side of Berkhamstead Common, and the objects of the expedition were then first made known to the rank and file.

"The whole of the iron railings, consisting of stout 'uprights,' five feet-high, and with broad metal bands at close intervals between each, were to be thrown down before daylight, Mr. Smith and the commoners taking all responsibility. The men were told off in detachments a dozen strong; the substantial joints of the railings were first loosened by hammers and chisels, and the crowbars did the rest. Before six o'clock in the morning the whole of the enclosure was levelled to the ground; each stout upright having the metal bands, its tributaries, first neatly folded round it, and then being laid upon the turf it had before served to close in. It was seven o'clock before the alarm was given, and by the time Mr. Paxton, the late Sir Joseph Paxton's brother, and Earl Brownlow's steward, appeared upon the scene, Berkhamstead Common was enclosed no longer. It was too late to do more than protest against the alleged trespass, and this was energetically done. Meanwhile the news spread, and the inhabitants of the adjacent village and district flocked upon the scene. In carriages, gigs, dog-carts, and on foot, gentry, shopkeepers, husbandmen, women and children, at once tested the reality of what they saw by strolling over and squatting on the common, and cutting and taking away morsels of gorse, to prove, as they said, 'the place was their own again.' The cost of the three miles of iron railing removed is said to have been more than a thousand pounds; and that of its removal must have been considerable."

The matter is to be speedily brought before the legal authorities.

USEFUL SOLDIERS.—In the French army every recruit is supposed to know a trade on joining the army. If he has not yet learnt a trade he is taught some occupation after joining his corps. Should he be ignorant of reading and writing—or, knowing these, should he wish to improve his education so as to qualify himself for promotion—he goes to the regimental school for four hours every day when he is not on guard or on fatigue duty. Once his schooling is over, he is put to work at some trade or handicraft; or should he not know one, he is put to learn one. In every French regiment there are regular gangs of butchers, bakers, cooks, carpenters, masons, gardeners, builders, laborers, cart-drivers, watchmakers, silversmiths, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and what not. All these trades or handicrafts are under their regular head men, and every soldier, when he can work, may and does gain a certain sum per day by working in the shop of his trade. In Algeria the whole of the government work is done by these military artisans, who, as well as the State, are gainers thereby. The men thus earn extra pay, and the government get work done better and cheaper than they could do by employing the people of the country, besides treasuring up the vast advantage of always having a corps of workmen at command. The system of regular organized workmen is the true secret why the French army get on so well when on service. In the English army we have nothing of the kind, except as regards the tailors and shoemakers, and (in cavalry regiments) the saddlers and farriers. There are many good workmen who enter our ranks, but through want of practice they soon forget what they knew. In Algiers I have seen a whole pile of barracks, large enough to contain three thousand men, that was built entirely by a regiment of the line, from the digging of the foundations to the making of glass for the barrack windows, and not a day's drill or manœuvering had been neglected while the work was going on. Throughout Algeria miles upon miles of excellent public roads have been made entirely by the troops, the men being paid a small additional sum by the State while so employed. Thus the government gained by getting their work better and very much cheaper done than could have been effected by private contractors, while the troops gained a very comfortable addition to their regular pay.—*All the Year Round.*

FEMALE EDUCATION IN ENGLAND.—An English paper notices a large and influential meeting recently held in the Arts' School at Cambridge for the purpose of discussing the recommendation of the Syndicate appointed by the Senate, that the local examination system should be extended to girls for three years' trial. The great majority of the gentlemen present were warmly in favor of the scheme, and the necessity for some measure as that proposed was fully acknowledged. Mr. E. H. Perowse, tutor of Corpus, objected to the proposal *in toto*, as he thought it was inconsistent with the dignity of the University, and that it had not been clearly proved that such a scheme was needed. These objections were replied to by Mr. Potts of Trinity; Mr. Hadley, tutor of St. John's; Mr. Markby of Trinity, and others. Professor Fawcettt spoke in favor of the measure.

Other speakers, while they were not opposed to it, thought that there were several modifications necessary in order that the plan might be successful. The questions whether the girls should have the same papers as the boys, whether it would be well to examine them in winter as the boys are now examined, whether class-lists were not expedient, whether it would be desirable to mix the boys with the girls and to pit the one against the other, and whether any evil would result to the physical or mental constitution of the girls in consequence of the excitement to which any examination subjected them, were all discussed, and in the main answered favorably to the scheme. There can be little if any doubt, says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that when the report comes to be voted on in congregation, it will, with perhaps a few slight modifications, be adopted by the Senate.

The following resolution was passed by the London Local Committee for conducting the Cambridge Local Examinations: "That this Committee approves the application made to the University for the admission of girls to the local examinations, and will be disposed to assist in carrying out at the London centre any scheme which the University may approve for this extension of the scope of those examinations."

SOME people are as careful of their troubles as mothers are of their babies; they cuddle them, and rock them, and hug them, and cry over them, and fly into a passion with you if you try to take them away from them; they want you to fret with them, and to help them to believe that they have been worse treated than anybody else. Their trouble makes them selfish—they think more of their dear little grief in the basket and in the cradle than they do of all the world beside; and they consider you hard-hearted if you say "don't fret." "Ah! you don't understand me—you don't know me—you can't enter into my trials."—*Blind Amos.*

LIFE is to be measured by action and not by time. Many a man dies old when he is but thirty, having lived to good purpose; and many another dies young, although he lives to fourscore. Indeed, the former lives after death in his good works, whilst the other perished long before he died.

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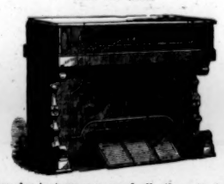

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